ENGLISH STAINED GLASS

By HERBERT READ

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ENGLISH
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CANTERBURY—South window of the South Transept. THE PATRIARCH JARED. *Late 12th century*

ENGLISH STAINED GLASS

BY

HERBERT READ

OF THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

LONDON & NEW YORK

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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TO

BERNARD RACKHAM

C'est, dit-on, un secret perdu; c'est un Art enseveli qui n'intéresse plus. . . . Arrêtez. . . . Il n'est qu'en léthargie: je vais essayer de l'en tirer. Si je ne puis y réussir, qu'il me soit au moins permis, en attendant des remèdes plus efficaces, de répandre quelques fleurs ou de verser quelques larmes sur le tombeau qu'on lui destine, avant qu'on le ferme!

M. Le Vieil, *L'Art de la peinture sur verre et de la Vitrerie*, Paris, 1774.

No other art can be so vital, so much a part of solar life; in comparison, the blind masses of sculpture and the opaque planes of painting are void and insentient. . . . But that vitality is hard to recover. Legends now fall into oblivion, and religion itself is a shadowy masquerade. The grand patriarchs of the story still stand for some living force, perhaps; and though age has decomposed the features of Abraham and Melchizedek so that their white eyes shine out of dark coppery faces and they are for all the world like negro potentates, yet they remain the possible objects of veneration. And perhaps now and then a heart lightens to disinter from the general glory the figure of Roland, pouring his dolorous breath into a horn. But who, even among the most faithful, will recognise the histories of Saint Lubin and Saint Potentian, and give to their windows the knowledge that the full reception of their beauty needs? Only the antiquary remains, and he must be left to his strange and incommunicable joys.—*Fragment of an Essay on the Windows of Chartres.*

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PREFACE

THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK perhaps needs a word of explanation. There are two general methods of approaching a subject like the art of glass-painting in England, and these we may call respectively the ways of *record* and of *appreciation*. Both are equally necessary at the present time, but the former, to be adequate, is beyond the capacity of any single individual. It would involve a complete survey of all the stained glass still remaining in England, complete with photographs and annotations. This is a work which should be done, but it will need a considerable organization and a financial guarantee. The task of appreciation seemed more possible, though undoubtedly not without its dangers: but essentially it seemed to involve a representative selection of examples and the relation of these to a background of philosophy and art which would bring out their full significance and explain their appeal. Ancient stained glass not only shares the common misfortune of any art which does not correspond with current aesthetic conceptions, but the aesthetic laws which distinguish it from other arts contemporary with it, and which are essential to its appreciation, are ignored to a degree unknown to the more familiar arts of architecture and painting. I have therefore attempted to correlate the history of English stained glass with the history of art in general, and to trace its development as a mode of aesthetic expression. This has inevitably led me into divagations of a comparative nature, but into nothing undeliberate. I am quite convinced myself of the practical value of this method: any criticism of it should envisage the possible alternatives, which seem to me to run to vain repetitions and intolerable trivialities.

Such a method involves an aesthetic belief, or at any rate an aesthetic theory. In this respect I desire to express my indebtedness to Wilhelm Worringer, of whose ideas I confess myself an enthusiastic devotee. More general influences will be obvious, but I would like to mention here the name of Ruskin: although my attitude towards his work is entirely critical, it would be less than generous not to acknowledge the inspiration that a student of Gothic art may still derive from that neglected source.

More particular acknowledgements must be made to several of my friends and colleagues. Mr. John A. Knowles has been unceasingly kind and generous, and Mr. John D. le Couteur, before his untimely death last year, was a most willing and informative correspondent. Mr. J. B. Sebastian Comper, Mr. William M. Dodson, Mr. Oscar G. Farmer, the Rev. K. O'Neill, Mr. A. W. Oxbrow, and Mr. G. McN. Rushforth have helped me in various ways. I have to thank the Rt. Hon. W. C. Bridgeman, the Hon. Henry D. McLaren, Mr. James A. de Rothschild, and Dr. Philip Nelson for permission to reproduce photographs of glass-paintings in their possession; and the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College for permission to use the photograph of the glass at Ettington of which they hold the copyright. And without the co-operation of Mr. Sydney Pitcher of Gloucester the adequate illustration of my book would have been impossible. All students of stained glass and of mediaeval art in general are under a great debt to Mr. Pitcher for the enthusiastic zeal with which he is recording the remains of church art in England. Finally, I wish to express my complete indebtedness to Mr. Bernard Rackham by dedicating to him whatever worth there is in this book.

H. R.

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ENGLISH STAINED GLASS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Un mouvant et précieux incendie.—MARCEL PROUST.

IN THE STUDY OF ENGLISH glass-paintings we are concerned with three distinct epochs. They have this in common, that they are all epochs of Christian art; but their resemblance one to another ends with their subject-matter. In ideals, in motives, and even in the symbols employed, they are really distinct. There are, of course, periods of transition, and we do come across occasional examples of art which are confused. But there is a surprising definiteness in the lines that divide our periods; twenty years—ten years on each side of an arbitrary date—are sufficient to mark the change in an unmistakable manner. At one stage at least the break can almost be fixed to a definite year—that of the Black Death; in fact this year is almost the most definite of all dividing lines in the history of western art, marking as it does, with the slow resuscitation from that unparalleled disaster, the entry of a new spirit which we call humanism.

In thus parcelling out the history of art into definite epochs, we speak only, of course, of the appearance or visible expression. In one sense at least art is a unity: it is the name we give to a certain human need—the need to see our perceptions and ideals externalized in appealing form; and this need is co-existent with the history of man. What for convenience we agree to call epochs in that fuller history, mark but a rise and fall within one continuous rhythm. But the element of time is there, and the changes leave behind them a certain barrier of achievement which profoundly affects the forces that persist beyond.

This rise and fall of the common aesthetic sense we should make the main criterion of judgement in the criticism of all art; and it is certainly my purpose to apply the distinction to the subject under hand. For it is a real rise and fall, an actual question of growth and decay, the

nature of which we may better understand after reading the following words of Mr. Havelock Ellis.[1]

" In architecture, which is the key to all the arts, we see the distinction between the classic and the decadent visibly demonstrated; Roman architecture is classic, to become in its Byzantine developments completely decadent, and St. Mark's is the perfected type of decadence in art; pure early Gothic, again, is strictly classic in the highest degree because it shows an absolute subordination of detail to the bold harmonies of structure, while later Gothic, grown weary of the commonplaces of structure and predominantly interested in the beauty of detail, is again decadent. In each case the earlier and classic manner —for the classic manner, being more closely related to the ends of utility, must always be earlier—subordinates the parts to the whole, and strives after those virtues which the whole may best express; the later manner depreciates the importance of the whole for the benefit of its parts, and strives after the virtues of individualism. All art is the rising and falling of the slopes of a rhythmic curve between these two classic and decadent extremes." [2]

There is much, in this passage, which I want to expound and apply in its relation to the art of glass-painting, but first I must make more definite the limits of the periods into which I am going to divide the history of stained glass in England, and the general descriptions which I shall apply to those periods.

§ 1

RUSKIN WAS BOLD ENOUGH, IN his *Aratra Pentelici*, to invent a very simple and memorable scheme of what he called " the large chronology of the Greek school "; within such an unforgettable scheme we will place (he said) as we discover them, the minor relations of arts and times. He then numbered the nine centuries before Christ thus, upwards, and divided them into three groups of three each:

A.	Archaic.	9, 8, 7
B.	Best.	6, 5, 4
C.	Corrupt.	3, 2, 1

He imagined a steady progress from the 9th century, a culmination or zenith in the 5th, and then a period of steady decline. Some such schematic rule is of incalculable value in the course of exposition, and I very much want, in this preliminary chapter, to establish a like one for the centuries that concern us.

Unfortunately the period covered by the development of English glass-painting offers no such simple A B C. Christian art, of which my subject is a part, begins very obscurely and is at first almost inseparable in the West from

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Affirmations*, 2nd edition (1915), pp. 175-6 (Essay on Huysmans).

[2] The mistake, I think, would be to identify this distinction between classical subordination and decadent individualism with any moral distinction between good and evil. It is a scientific or descriptive distinction, and not a moral distinction at all; there is no element of judgement introduced. The failure to avoid this confusion of categories is largely responsible for the unreality of Ruskin's aesthetics.

certain elements of debased classical art which it adopted secretively and against the official injunctions of the Church. But there are three broad periods which we may name respectively the Byzantine, the Gothic, and the Humanistic.[1] The Byzantine period presents considerable difficulties: we have Mr. Ellis calling St. Mark's "the perfected type of decadence," and Byzantine architecture generally he describes as a decadent development of the classical Roman style. A recent universal historian of art, M. Elie Faure, is quite as positive and much more picturesque.

"Byzance a prolongé le monde antique jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Age. . . . Trouble instinct, germe vivant d'une fleur magnifique au fond d'une mare empestée, redoutable splendeur des mouches bleues ou vertes, des mouches de métal glacé qui naissent de la pourriture. . . . Toute la vie glorieuse dont les frontons des temples, comme du bord d'un horizon à l'autre, contenaient le balancement, paraît s'être amassée au fond des crânes atrophiés et sourdre des yeux immenses ouverts sur le vide, l'obscurité, la décomposition, la fièvre morbide des âmes. L'intérieur de l'être apparaît vraiment au travers de ces regards étranges, qui tentent de reconcentrer dans la fermentation prodigieuse de la conscience, les énergies éparpillées par la décadence hellénique sur tous les chemins de l'esprit." [2]

All this is true, I think, of certain aspects of Byzantine art, especially if, as is commonly done, we reckon as Byzantine all that which comes between the ancient world and the Middle Ages. But Byzantine art really comprises at least five historical periods each affecting radically the evolution of art; the influences at work are at least threefold—Hellenic, Oriental, and Roman; and at least two distinct streams of art emerge—an imperial hieratic art and a popular religious art. As a result, it is extremely difficult to trace a clear evolution of style. If we follow the five epochs so clearly enumerated by Professor Bréhier,[3] we shall be able to see precisely where the art we are concerned with first emerges from the confused arena of stylistic influences. With the pre-Justinian epoch (4th-5th centuries) we are not concerned at all: it presents little but the chaotic juxtaposition of Hellenic, Roman, and Oriental elements—the kind of cosmopolitan art that has more than once existed along with a certain amount of political freedom and a great deal of concentrated wealth. The Justinian epoch, which includes the 6th and 7th centuries, sees the emergence of something more positive, chiefly as a reflection of the personality of Justinian himself. St. Sophia is built (532-537) and there is a thriving activity in all forms of art work. But it

[1] I ignore the Romanesque period, because for this chronological classification it is best considered as the northern aspect of the Byzantine period. I also ignore, though merely because it would introduce a large and contentious question which in the main concerns a period earlier than any we have to deal with, the redistribution of influences proposed by Prof. Josef Strzygowski (see especially *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Oxford, 1923).

[2] Elie Faure, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. ii, "L'Art Médiéval" (Paris, 1921), pp. 189, 197.

[3] *L'Art Byzantin*, par Louis Bréhier, Paris, 1924, chap. ii.

is still an imperialistic art, denoting achievement and contentment, rather than humility and aspiration. From this surfeit imperialistic art passed to decline. And with decadence came reaction: we have the period of the iconoclastic emperors (726-842), and the suppression of all religious art. The result of this suppression was to give an impetus to purely decorative or ornamental art, and therefore to Eastern influences. But in the contrary direction the Council of Nicaea (786-787) gave a certain sanction to the mystical cult of images, and it is possible to see in this very definite event the first conception of a genuine Christian art. In the 9th century there first appears in the monasteries an art which owes little to foreign traditions, and nearly everything to original faith.[1] With the re-establishment in the 10th century of the Byzantine hegemony came a renaissance of the arts. This renaissance affected both the elements which we have distinguished: the imperialistic art flourishes again, finding fresh sources of inspiration in the Hellenic tradition, this time as a result of research rather than of direct contact; and the monastic art emerges from its seclusion, renewing its forces in mystical and realistic experience. It is from this second element that there develop, in the last historical phase of Byzantine art, the first authentic accents of Gothic art: but this was in another environment, and on the swell of other forces. In the Empire itself the Byzantine tradition prolongs itself, obscurely and as the very panoply of decadence, right down into the 15th century. It was not therefore in its whole course a simple rhythm; but a great tradition was created and a style was made manifest which profoundly influenced all subsequent art in Europe. At its purest, as in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, an edifice of the 6th century, it had attained a purity and strength to which we must never apply the word decadence, if, indeed, that word is to preserve the least suspicion of moralistic prejudice. The term even fails in its scientific sense, for where could we find such a perfect subordination of the part to the whole, of decoration to structure, as in this severe, solemn, and magnificent expression of religious unity. In the highest type of Byzantine art there is no place for individualism: all is conceived in liturgical strictness, in terms of superhuman grandeur, and the effect, even on men who live in a different age, with a different consciousness, is still that of the annihilation of all self-awareness in the contemplation of supreme beauty.

It is too simple, then, to consider the Byzantine period as one of mere decadence. It has the rhythmic rise and fall of an intact though various life. It presents phenomena, such as the tendency towards abstraction, which make it a period of absorbing interest in a general view of the history of art. I shall have more to say about this question of abstraction

[1] *Cf.* Bréhier, *op. cit.*, p. 22: "C'est au monastère de Stoudion que se crée le psautier à illustrations marginales, véritable œuvre de propagande, dont les vignettes exécutées librement, sans influence d'aucun modèle antique, dénotent une verve, une imagination et un souci de réalisme d'une grande originalité."

when we come to a consideration of Gothic art. Meanwhile we will merely note the opposing conceptions. It was common until quite recently to explain phenomena like the geometrical arts of Egypt as evidences of incapacity. The superficiality of this point of view has been shown by several modern aestheticians, but most effectively and distinctively by Wilhelm Worringer.[1] The most summary consideration of the history of art will show not only that a geometrical style is coexistent with high technical efficiency, but that it can even exist concurrently with direct representational art. We are concerned, that is to say, with a question, not of ability, but of desire; a question of a given direction of the will to art. The real explanation differentiates two fundamental attitudes towards natural life, or to the universe, as we may say more vaguely. In a period such as the Renaissance in Europe, the highest aesthetic pleasure is founded on a sympathy between the mind and the general forms and activities of nature; art is an objectification of our own joy and vitality. Man identifies himself with the impulse of life, and the highest expression that he is capable of is an idealization of the moods and features assumed by this eternal energy. The other attitude is directly opposed to this: it sees in nature a force confused and irregular, ill expressing those ideals of moral grandeur and static achievement which the human spirit, in moments of disinterested contemplation, has been able to build beyond the temporal flux. Or if this is too idealistic an interpretation for epochs which we call primitive, then we may describe the attitude simply as one of distrust in the casualness of nature—an attitude that finds in formal geometrical patterns a more satisfying aesthetic rhythm and harmony than ever exists in the chance constructions of organic growth. To this kind of sensibility an abstract geometrical shape is more durable and consistent than the arbitrary details of existence. In its finest manifestation abstract art has two characteristics: a delight in formal rhythms for their own sake, and a desire to express a permanence of absolute ideas rather than a fleeting impression of natural forms.

It is, of course, still possible to say that this flight from nature is bad in essence, ethically wrong, and a denial of life. Ruskin did not hesitate to denounce all abstraction as the work of the devil:

> "All the talk about abstraction [he wrote] belongs to periods of decadence. In living times, people see something living that pleases them; and they try to make it live for ever, or to make something as like it as possible, that will last for ever. They paint their statues, and inlay the eyes with jewels, and set real crowns on the heads; they finish, in their pictures, every thread of embroidery, and would fain, if they could, draw every leaf upon the trees: and their only verbal expression of conscious success is that they have made their work 'look real'" (*Aratra Pentelici*, § 123).

But Ruskin does not here, or elsewhere in his writings, show any real understanding of the nature of abstract art, and indeed he was too deeply committed, by every article of his creed, to

[1] See especially *Abstraktion und Einfühlung: ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie* (11th ed., Munich, 1921).

that opposite faith in the life of sensations even to bother to try and understand the other point of view. It is a central contradiction in his work, and led him, among other things, to what is essentially a depreciation of early Gothic art.

With the rise of Gothic art, we get the birth and finest growth of the art of stained glass. Of the economic and structural conditions to which were due its rapid and miraculous establishment I shall write in the next chapter. I want now to limit myself to the broad effect of its history, still having in mind the establishment of a schematic key of chronology.

The earliest extant examples of stained and painted glass (such as the figures of prophets in Augsburg Cathedral[1]) date from the middle of the 11th century, but there is evidence of earlier windows than these. Fischer (*op. cit.*, p. 40) quotes from a 9th century life of St. Ludger a passage which must refer to stained glass windows of some kind—"aurora jam rubescente et luce paulatim per fenestras irradiante imagines in eis factas monstrare digito coepit." Mâle[2] gives as the earliest mention of leading a reference to the *Miracles de Saint Benoît*, where it is related that in the last years of the 10th century the church of Fleury-sur-Loire was set on fire and it was feared that the leads would be melted—"igneo fervore in vitreis jam fenestris plumbum liquari posse conjiciabatur." The same authority gives as the earliest mention of subject windows a reference to Richer, vol. ii, lib. 3, where it is recorded that Adalbéron, Bishop of Rheims from 969 to 988, rebuilt the cathedral and redecorated it with windows representing various stories—"fenestris diversas continentibus historias."

But in practice we must perforce ignore this early Romanesque period, and it is not until the 12th century is well advanced that we find sufficient material to enable us to make valid deductions, and by then we are within the bounds of the Gothic period. This period has its zenith about 1280, and about 1350 came the Black Death, and this, for more reasons than the obvious one, sets a term to the early spirit of Gothic art. But a new spirit had already been born which, confused at first with the last traces of decadent Gothic, and then expressed in movements like the Revival of Learning which are no essential part of it, came to its highest expression in the Italian Renaissance, but is best studied under the wider aspect of Humanism. This development in its turn reached a zenith about 1500. It suffered a gradual decline, checkered with various mutations and excrescences, but virtually lasting down to our own days.

You have then, two broad movements to bear in mind as the background of all minor variations:

I. The rise and fall of Gothic art, 1000-1350.

II. The rise and fall of Humanistic art, 1350-1900.

[1] Illustrated in J. L. Fischer, *Handbuch der Glasmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), Plates 1-4, where literary evidence is advanced for this surprisingly early date.

[2] *Histoire de l'Art*, ed. A. Michel, vol. i, pt. 2 (Paris, 1905), pp. 782 *et seq.*

The satisfactory subdivision of these two epochs presents great difficulty and has been the source of much complexity. The common practice has been to follow the architectural terminology and chronology first instituted by Thomas Rickman about a hundred years ago. This gives us the following periods:

Early English	1189-1307
Decorated	1307-1377
Perpendicular	1377-1546

Westlake,[1] in applying these divisions to the history of English stained glass, further subdivides the earlier periods and allows the stained glass in each case to lag about twenty years behind the architecture. Thus we get the following sequence:

Transitional, from beginning to 1240.
Early Gothic, 1240-1290.
Geometrical pointed, 1290-1310.
Early decorated, 1280-90—1325.
Middle decorated, 1325—1350-60.
Transitional, 1350-60—1380-90.

This, I think, introduces unnecessary complexity, a futility of exact dating, and an architectural terminology of doubtful application to the art of stained glass.

Such subdivisions are based on details of decoration and design and these are, of course, fairly sound criteria. But what do they signify? Can there really be any *significant* change in so short a period as that designated " Middle Decorated " by Westlake? They merely account for changes of fashion, of surface appearances; and though these finally, when they have changed radically enough, indicate real changes beneath the surface, yet I think we should do well merely to record them without attaching undue significance to them. Instead, we may fix our attention on the mutations of the spirit, on the historical development of religious and national consciousness, and for this purpose we must lift our eyes above our immediate subject and survey the general drift of mind and expression. In this way we shall find three decisive epochs and within these three we shall consider the history of our particular art. These periods are:

I. The Age of Reason. The rise and fall of the classical epoch of Christian art, generally known as the early Gothic period, and covering roughly the years 1150-1350.
II. The Age of Sentiment. The rise and establishment of humanistic standards. The romantic or late Gothic period. Its early beginnings can be traced long before the end of the classical Gothic period, but it may be said to have reached its fullest development about 1500.
III. The Age of Fancy. The humanistic decadence. The age of " fanciful " movements, devoid of unanimity and religious sentiment.

With the decay of religious feeling art, which had already become individualistic and romantic in the Humanistic period, now became wilful and arbitrary. In any other art we could study this

[1] *A History of Design in Painted Glass*, by N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A., London, 1881-1894, vol. i, p. 50; vol. ii, p. 9.

period under the aspects of the Baroque, Rococo, and " Romantic " periods, but long before we reach the Baroque period stained glass in England had ceased to exist as a significant or independent art. The 19th century only counts for the return to technical efficiency and the brief but not insignificant interlude of the Pre-Raphaelite movement.

We have, then, no such mnemonic aid as Ruskin's A B C of Greek chronology. The simplest form to which I can reduce my scheme is this:

The Age of Reason, 1150-1350.
The Age of Sentiment, 1350-1500.
The Age of Fancy, 1500-1900.

This will, at any rate, give us a structure for the ideas and details which we are to consider in this book. Our terms have only the value of generalizations. A generalization, however, is the beginning and end of knowledge and is justified if it works.

§ 2

I HAVE CARRIED THIS HISTORICAL introduction to the threshold of our subject. There still remains another preliminary enquiry, and this relates to the first principles of the art of stained glass. Any history of art, or of any portion of art, must begin with certain critical presuppositions. I have, for example, already committed myself to the statement that the art of stained glass during the 17th and 18th centuries is insignificant. This opinion is based upon a certain conception of the necessary limits—technical and aesthetic—to be placed upon the definition of the art *as an art*, and such a conception is necessary to prevent a confusion of this art with other arts, and with the total want of all art.

Ruskin, whose references to stained glass are fairly numerous, gave some thought to this question and went far towards establishing an aesthetic of stained glass. In *The Stones of Venice* he devoted a special appendix to Painting on Glass.[1] At that time the art of glass-painting was in an extremely low condition, and Ruskin, in the context, is writing mainly with the possibilities of a contemporary revival in mind. The points he insists on, in the case of windows, are " the transparency of the glass and its susceptibility of the most brilliant colours." He goes on to distinguish glass-painting from oil-painting:

" Colour, ground with oil, and laid on a solid opaque ground, furnishes to the human hand the most exquisite means of expression which the human sight and invention can find or require. By its two opposite qualities, each naturally and easily obtainable, of transparency in shadow and opacity in light, it complies with the conditions of nature; and by its perfect governableness, it permits the utmost possible fullness and subtlety in the harmonies of colour, as well as the utmost perfection in the drawing. Glass, considered as a material for a picture, is exactly as bad as oil is good. It sets out by reversing the conditions of nature, by making the light transparent and the shadows opaque; and the ungovernableness of its colour (changing in the furnace)

[1] *The Stones of Venice*, vol. ii, Appendix 12.

and its violence (being always on a high key, because produced by actual light), render it so disadvantageous in every way, that the result of working in it for pictorial effect would infallibly be the destruction of all the appreciation of the noble qualities of pictorial colour.

"In the second place, this modern barbarism destroys the true appreciation of the qualities of glass. It denies, and endeavours as far as possible to conceal, the transparency, which is not only its great virtue in a merely utilitarian point of view, but its great spiritual character; the character by which in church architecture it becomes most touchingly impressive, as typical of the entrance of the Holy Spirit into the heart of man; a typical expression rendered specific and intense by the purity and brilliancy of its sevenfold hues; and therefore, in endeavouring to turn the window into a picture, we at once lose the sanctity and power of the noble material, and employ it to an end which is utterly impossible it should ever worthily attain. The true perfection of a painted window is to be serene, intense, brilliant, like flaming jewellery; full of easily legible and quaint subjects, and exquisitely subtle, yet simple, in its harmonies. In a word, this perfection has been consummated in the designs, never to be surpassed, if ever again to be approached by human art, of the French windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

Ruskin repeated the substance of these remarks in his *Lectures on Art* (1870), § 186, and it was in these *Lectures*, which are still unimpaired as a profound imaginative treatment of the function of art, that Ruskin selected Gothic stained glass as the type of the work of the early schools of colour, that "sweet crystalline time of colour," when "the painters, whether on glass or canvas, employed intricate patterns, in order to mingle hues beautifully with each other, and make one perfect melody of them all." Ruskin, again, insists that "painted windows have nothing to do with chiaroscuro. [There is noble chiaroscuro (he adds in a note) in the variations of their colour, but not as representative of solid form.] The virtue of glass is to be transparent everywhere. If you care to build a palace of jewels, painted glass is richer than all the treasures of Aladdin's lamp...." He adds this further injunction: "Put out of your minds at once all questions about difficulties of getting colour; in glass we have all the colours that are wanted, only we do not know either how to choose, or how to connect them; and we are always trying to get them bright, when their real virtues are to be deep, mysterious, and subdued." And he gives as a type of the perfect style of stained glass two windows from Châlons-sur-Marne.

All this is very good criticism, based on a knowledge of the essentials of the craft and in the main confined to objective facts. My only criticism is, that in his desire to reject that "most vulgar of barbarisms"—a *picture* in coloured glass—Ruskin forgot the importance of design or composition. We are dealing with the implications of his scattered remarks on the subject, rather than with any direct statement of his aesthetic principles. But my impression is, that his ideal conception of design for stained glass was limited to the formal patterns

of what he called "jewellery." There is a contradiction even in the sentence in which this quality is defined, for how can a window be at once "serene" and "like flaming jewellery." And in the *Lectures on Art*, painted glass is "richer than all the treasures of Aladdin's lamp"; but at the same time its real virtue is to be "deep, mysterious, and subdued." It is evident, at any rate, that he did not concede to stained glass the full freedom and dynamic scope which it has revealed in its evolution. But we can, in this matter, pass from speculations to facts: the window designed by Ruskin in the church of St. Giles, Camberwell, may fairly be taken as a practical test of his theories. It strikes one as academic in conception, confused in effect, and only moderately successful in colour. It is "jewel-like," but it is dead. It is the evident product of a confusion in aesthetic values.

Against this rather childish joy in jewelled light we might oppose the necessity of perfect clarity in design; and this, in general, implies clarity despite the physical handicap of distance. Indeed, such physical restrictions, in the time of high artistic energy, result in an achievement so much the greater because of its implicit triumph over material opposition. And thus it was that in the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century, a technique of geometric design was evolved which by virtue of its simplicity, its forceful stylization, and the sobriety of its colour, performed fitly the dual function of all mediaeval art, teaching in easily legible pictures the history of the Church and its dogmas, and as a perfectly adapted member giving radiance and colour to that most rich and final unity in the history of art—a Gothic cathedral.

It is difficult for us nowadays to accept an aesthetic for stained glass rigorously derived from what is commonly regarded as the purest period of its efflorescence—the early Gothic. We still see things with a vision that only came to its perfection with the Renaissance: a vision that endows with the objective qualities of beauty those images which most nearly reflect our own sense of self-enjoyment. But at other periods and particularly, as we shall see, in the 12th and 13th centuries, art could be given a very different purpose and human life could be regarded in a very different light. All things were then made subservient to an idea, and art was not so much the expression of the individuality of the artist as the expression of a faith by which men sought to make, as it were, a common organization of their diverse wills and aspirations. It is not our concern here to ask what relation, if any, exists between this subordination of human personality to abstract ideas and the creation of a purer type of art, for we must in that case beg the question by assuming the superiority of a particular type of art. Perhaps all that we can fairly do is to admit the existence of two standards and then to extract from these their underlying aesthetic rules.

It is best to bear in mind an actual example of each type. We may take the medallion from Canterbury (Pl. 1) as a representative of the earlier hieratic art;

the window from King's College Chapel, Cambridge (Pl. 58) will serve for the later humanistic period. We may then observe in the first these several features:

(1) *Two-dimensionality.* No attempt is made to put the scene in strict spatial perspective. Everything is conceived on a flat plane.

(2) *Stylization.* The figures are not life-like, but distorted for some particular purpose. In the ancient art of Crete, the artist often desired to express the swift vaulting urge of their sacred animal the bull: he did this by giving the beast an arched, elongated body; standing on its close-set hind feet, the bull seems to hurl its body upward into space, *stretching* its body in the effort. The aesthetic effect is extremely powerful. In the same way Gothic art tended to elongate the figure of its saints and heroes, giving them a superhuman dignity and grace; and to exaggerate the rhythm of folds and fluttering garments, to express repose or motion.[1] We may note especially in stained glass the beautiful use made of elongated and curved hands; it is one of the most expressive details to be found in Gothic art.

(3) *Symbolism.* No attempt is made to represent the scene in its completeness. A tree is sufficient to indicate the open country, or one house a town.

(4) *Arbitrary use of colour.* Colour is used for its effect, not with imitative aims. It is *composed* rather than copied, or it may even have a symbolical intention.

In contrast to these characteristics we may observe in the Cambridge window:

(1) *Three-dimensionality.* Perspective and shading give the proper spatial relations of the various details represented.

(2) *Naturalism.* The utmost that is sought is the heightened effect of nature: the natural event stabilized at a significant moment. The human figure is given in its natural posture and, to the best of the artist's capacity, in its life-likeness. As a consequence of this characteristic we get:

(3) A natural *mise-en-scène.* The event takes place in its full, historical environment; and

(4) A natural use of colour. Grass is green, the sky blue, and everything very much as we see it in nature.

Common to both epochs, in worthy examples, like these, we get certain principles of design which are to be observed in all arts of all epochs and

[1] There is a materialistic explanation: that stylization began with the stone-mason or even with the primitive carver of a tree-trunk, whose problem was to make his column serve the double purpose of a column and an instructive human representation. The result was a compromise between a column and a human figure—an elongated stylized form. From sculpture this adventitious mannerism spread to other arts. This theory, however, is merely superficial and neglects the general history of art, in which we see a tendency for all art to begin with geometrical or linear ornament, and only gradually to develop representational capacities (*cf.* especially the early ornamental art of Northern Europe, and more particularly the Celtic illuminated manuscripts of the 7th and 8th centuries). *Vide* Worringer, *op. cit.*, for a more complete refutation of the materialistic hypothesis.

which really find an explanation in certain basic physical laws of our nature. These are questions of balance or symmetry, of mass, of harmony of colour, and of ease of line, and are merely mentioned to be dismissed as the groundwork of all design.

The differences between these two contrasted types of art are differences which cannot be completely resolved by an arbitrary judgement. They probably depend on deep-seated attitudes from which even the most ingenious critic cannot hope to be free. The history of art is the history of recurrent phases. For any period in the art of Western Europe, we can find an analogy in the art of Egypt, of Crete, of Greece, or of any full cycle of culture. The only distinction seems to be between an art which affirms the individual and an art which affirms the idea—an art of pride and an art of humility. And of these distinctions it is much better to be the historian than the judge.

§ 3

THE SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF an art never reveals its deepest significance, which is a quality depending on the effect of a directly accepted unity. Beauty, in the end, is not so much a question of the response of those physical units which make up our sensibility, but is rather a total apprehension or intuition by all our faculties in their corporate function, which is the intelligence.[1] That is why the impression of beauty is never conveyed by the researches of antiquarians and scholars, but may be more easily rendered in a few vivid words of the right imaginative insight.

Stained glass has many beauties that are adventitious: the work of nature rather than of man; and these do not offer themselves to any exact description: we must, instead, seek a poetic analogy. There is a deceptive sense of soft tactile surface when light strikes through the texture of ancient glass: we feel that this colour would crumble and disintegrate at a touch, like the powdery scales of a moth's wings. In substance, however, glass is crystalline, and, as Ruskin said:

" Nature herself produces all her loveliest colours in some kind of solid or liquid glass or crystal. The rainbow is painted on a shower of melted glass, and the colours of the opal are produced in vitreous flint mixed with water; the green and blue, and gold or amber brown of flowing water is in surface glassy, and in motion ' splendidior vitro.' And the loveliest colours ever granted to human sight—those of morning or evening clouds before or after rain—are produced on minute particles of finely-divided water, or perhaps sometimes ice " (*Lectures on Art*, § 173).

Light is the life of stained glass, as anyone may see by handling a panel of old glass. At one moment it is an ashy

[1] *Intelligence*: a word we should use with a precise meaning, distinct from *Reason*, and perhaps in the way distinguished by St. Thomas: "intelligere enim est simpliciter veritatem intelligibilem apprehendere: ratiocinari autem est procedere de uno intellecto ad aliud, ad veritatem intelligibilem cognoscendam " (*cf.* J. Maritain, *Antimoderne*, chap. i).

mosaic of irregularly decayed glass, with a coarse and pitted surface, held together by strips of the least appealing of all metals—lead; and then it is held up to the light and in a flash the full force of its colour fills the mind. Nothing is so bleak and lustreless as the blank surface of a stained-glass window seen from the outside of a church; nothing so vibrant and colourful as the same window from within. A modern writer of great sensibility has described this effect in a passage which I shall take the liberty of bringing into this drearier context. He is describing the church of an imaginary Combray, a composite, no doubt, of several memories:

"Its windows were never so brilliant as on days when the sun scarcely shone, so that if it was dull outside you might be certain of fine weather in church. One of them was filled from top to bottom by a solitary figure, like the king on a playing-card, who lived up there beneath his canopy of stone, between earth and heaven; . . . in another, a mountain of rosy snow, at whose foot a battle was being fought, seemed to have frozen the window also, which it swelled and distorted with its cloudy sleet, like a pane to which snowflakes have drifted and clung, but flakes illumined by a sunrise. . . . And all of them were so old that you could see, here and there, their silvery antiquity sparkling with the dust of centuries and showing in its threadbare brilliance the very cords of their lovely tapestry of glass. There was one among them which was a tall panel composed of a hundred little rectangular windows, of blue principally, like a great game of patience of the kind planned to beguile King Charles VI; but, either because a ray of sunlight had gleamed through it or because my own shifting vision had drawn across the window, whose colours died away and were rekindled by turns, a rare and transient fire—the next instant it had taken on all the iridescence of a peacock's tail, then shook and wavered in a flowing and fantastic shower, distilled and dropping from the groin of the dark and rocky vault, . . . a moment later the little lozenge windows had put on the deep transparence, the unbreakable hardness of sapphires clustered on some enormous breastplate. . . ."[1]

There, I think, you have the deeply sensuous appeal of this crystalline art, expressed with clear understanding and acute sensibility. I shall not revert to this aspect of our study, but the power and vitality of the art of glass-painting in its simple integrity is the sanction for all our more detailed consideration of its nature and development. Beauty is the sanction of *doing*, as happiness is the sanction of *being*, and a sincere writer only commits himself to a task of appreciation and exposition when he knows that it subserves these ideal elements.

[1] *Du Côté de Chez Swann*, by Marcel Proust. Translated as *Swann's Way* by C. K. Scott-Moncrieff (vol. i, pp. 78-9), 1922.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF REASON

Omnium humanorum operum principium primum ratio est.—ST. THOMAS, *Sum. Theol.*, I-II, *q.* 58, *a.* 2.

§ 1

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO believe that human sensibility has been a fairly constant factor since the beginning of history, and that the highest form of art is a creative event demanding more than the passive sensibility of the artist. Artists always exist potentially, but they are not always endowed with those qualities of intelligence and animation which are the corporate creations of society. In classical epochs, when art is the organic expression of the culture of the period, art is an inseparable component of the general values of this culture, and cannot possibly be studied in isolation. In romantic epochs the relation is more indirect: the artist, left to himself, becomes at once more "creative" or "original" and less profound; he builds on a narrower foundation—the foundation of his own sentiments. What romantic art gains in variety and individual charm, it loses in power and social worth. It follows from this sympathetic dependence of all art on the general trend of civilization, that art must be treated not as a detached activity, subject to its own laws—as the evolution, as it were, of independent faculties in mankind—but as a form of expression which takes on its characteristics and ultimately its value from the general content of the environment within which it appears.

This consideration is forced upon us by the common attitude of distrust or misunderstanding towards any art foreign to our own conceptions. From day to day we see this attitude adopted towards art which is in any sense new—that is, art which is based on ideas and assumptions not yet widely distributed. The same attitude is roused by any art which is remote enough to have the same degree of estrangement from accepted ideals. In a small way this can be seen over very short periods, and the art of one generation is almost inexplicable to another generation. The essential point to realize is that all such changes are not changes in the subjective nature of man's sensibility, but merely changes in the objects with

which that sensibility is occupied. The same faculties of appreciation persist; only the field of interest shifts.

We can trace a continuity of *interest* ever since that decisive change occurred which we now call the Renaissance. There is no difficulty, among ordinarily educated people, in accepting the types then established and not essentially departed from since. Beyond that time we enter a sphere of much more restricted appeal.

Confining our attention to the subject of stained glass, we shall find the word "crudity" often used in speaking of the style or manner of the early Gothic artists. Lewis Day, for example, writes of this "stiff and ultra-formal design," of "a certain exaggeration of attitude which in the hands of a naïve and sometimes almost childish draughtsman becomes absolutely grotesque."[1] It should not be necessary to say that the use of such phraseology betrays a misunderstanding, not only of the nature of Gothic art, but also of all the best that has been written about Gothic art. Ruskin laboured with a good deal of effect to show that those elements which he himself went so far as to describe by concession as "Savageness" and "Rigidity" were in reality conditions of vitality and power. But even Ruskin was not free from the vice of evolutionary preconceptions, and introduced into his analysis of Gothic art a sense of moral development and decline which is not warranted by the aesthetic facts.

I wish, at this early stage, to be clear about my use of historical terms, particularly clear on the significance to be attached to the word *Gothic*. As a word it is no better than a counter: it has no precise meaning and no precise applicability to the phenomena it connotes. But in this it agrees with most proper names. In architecture it has been confined to that style which is denoted by the pointed arch, with all the accessory modifications demanded by it in the complete structure of the building. But whilst the pointed arch serves very well as a superficial symbol, in itself it is but one expression of an attitude of mind involving all things. Gothic is, in its fundamental nature, a religious art, being almost entirely confined to the expression of Christian concepts. In style, or superficial characteristics, it is a blend of two forces which in their origin proceed from geographical antitheses. The native art of the North, before the coming of Christianity, was an abstract or geometrical art, chiefly expressed in linear ornament. Christianity, as it gradually penetrated into the rigour of this art, adopted the

[1] *Windows: a book about Stained and Painted Glass*, by Lewis F. Day, London, 1897, p. 40. But to be quite fair to Day, it should be noted that he was not unaware of certain advantages in this *naïveté*. "From the grossest and most archaic figures [he writes, p. 41], ungainly in form and fantastic in feature, stiff in pose and extravagant in action, out of all proportion to their place in the window, there are at least two invaluable lessons to be learnt—the value of broad patches of unexpected colour, interrupting that monotony of effect to which the best considered schemes of ornament incline, and the value of simplicity, directness, and downright rigidity of design. Severity of design is essential to largeness of style."

native modes for the expression of its emotional and intellectual concepts. The result was a very interesting, and, some of us believe, a very exalted style of art which we call generally the Romanesque, or in the local aspects of it with which we are here mostly concerned, the Norman.[1] In the South, as we have seen, Christian art became a very complex synthesis of various historical and geographical influences, but was in the main a blend of the humanistic Hellenic type and the abstract Oriental type. The Romanesque and the Byzantine styles offer certain interesting analogies, and as Christianity spread northwards it carried with it certain traits of a southern ("oriental") origin. But in the main these great geographically determined groups remain distinct.

Romanesque art, however, never possessed the cohesion and fecundity of Byzantine art; from the 5th to the 12th century it moved tentatively, slowly elaborating an architectural type round the central motive of the round arch, and developing the geometrical ornament from its pre-Christian origins. Its most important contribution to the history of art was the revival of statuary. Free from the iconophobia which infested Southern Christianity, the Romanesque builders freely developed the art of sculpture and contributed to the Gothic unity just that element which Byzantine art should have carried with it from Hellenic prototypes, had a happier liberty prevailed.

In perfected Gothic it is possible to infer that those elements of form and mass which constitute the general aesthetic unit of the building were a contribution from the Northern stream of influence, being, as they are, of an abstract or geometric nature; whilst the naturalistic elements of decoration, outspringing from a confident relationship with the vivid and active phenomena of life, come from the exuberant South. All observations of actual fact and all considerations of psychological probability, support this fancy. We may then suggest an hypothesis to explain the origin of the art of stained glass. Gothic architecture involved vast surfaces of light: and in the North, of grey light. The Byzantine influence urged colour and could, in fact, contribute its technique of mosaics. And the art of mosaics no doubt suggested the new art, and a stained-glass window is, in effect, but a mosaic adapted to translucency and the supporting framework of leads. The early history of this new art is, as we shall see, obscure; but it is only obscure for want of facts: it presents no difficulty to the imagination.[2]

The earliest surviving examples of painted glass windows in the North, such as the windows in the cathedral at Augs-

[1] A term, however, which is without much justification, and therefore confusing.

[2] Strzygowski has suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 221) that the origin of *stained* (as distinct from *painted*) glass may be sought in the stucco frameworks of coloured glass "sporadically found in Christian churches in the Balkans and, in wider distribution, in the earlier mosques of the Mesopotamian type; it would therefore appear to have originated in Persia."

burg, already mentioned, are strongly Romanesque in character; but examples are not wanting to prove at an early date a purely Byzantine style in the South. In particular we may point to a panel of the Annunciation at South Kensington, reputed to have come from Torcello, and dating from the 13th or 14th century;[1] it shows no trace of Romanesque influence, and yet reveals a fully developed technique of glass-painting. We cannot, therefore, confidently claim for the North the undivided origination of this art. But when Lewis Day, and other writers equally responsible, speak of the crudity and barbarity of the early style, they do, in fact, refer to the Romanesque elements as distinct from those qualities, mainly of a southern origin, which were later to modify the art in the direction of grace and naturalism.

We may, however, ignore any separate consideration of the purely Romanesque style in a work which is confined to English stained glass. The earliest panel surviving in the country, the figure of a King from a Tree of Jesse, now in the north clerestory of the nave in York Minster,[2] dates from the second half of the 12th century. The foliage motives in the border are still Romanesque (or Norman) in character, but one can discern in the modelling of the figure a feeling for the nude anatomy beneath the robes which is recognizable as a Byzantine feature, and one quite foreign to the Romanesque tradition.

The figures of the prophets at Canterbury (Frontispiece), although somewhat later in date, seem to preserve a more consistent Romanesque character. There is, indeed, some feeling for movement, and the figures are far removed from the rigorously schematic treatment of the Augsburg prophets; there is, too, the first flush of humanism in their bold features. But these, if any, must stand for the Romanesque tradition in English stained glass. All other early glass in England, such as the panels in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and the Becket windows at Canterbury, seem to me far too dramatic in treatment to be considered as anything but fully Gothic in character.

We have already noted that the word Romanesque stands loosely for a period of confusion, covering several local and intermittent styles, corresponding to the shifting political centres, determined by incessant wars. We shall realize better the wonderful unity of the Gothic style if we bear this contrast in mind. But gradually during the 12th century a steady and conscious development was manifested; art developed a new tech-

[1] Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of this panel, but in reality it is beyond doubt. The date at which it was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum (1858), the condition and patina of the glass, the ancient leading are all objective facts which must be set against merely subjective appreciations or stylistic judgements. See the *Journal of the British Master Glass-painters*, vol. i, no. 3 (1925), for a fuller discussion of this panel by Mr. Bernard Rackham.

[2] The panel is very inaccessible—unnecessarily so. It should therefore be examined in the reproduction in colours to be found in John Browne's *History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York* (London, 1847), Pl. CXXIII.

nical mastery either concurrently with, or under pressure from, a growing sense of spiritual unity and intellectual vigour.[1] It was then that Christian art, transcending its multiform origins, became emancipated and grew to that perfection which we know as Gothic art.

The transition was only rendered possible by the underlying concepts of the Christian faith, and I do not think our study can proceed further without touching, however superficially, upon the development of mediaeval philosophy.

§ 2

PHILOSOPHY, LIKE ART, IS A disciplined emotion. Indeed, it is said that all human activities have an emotional basis, and to that extent emotion is paramount. But it is equally true that those formal values which we call art and philosophy are not achieved without order and intellectual control. There can be no power unless the stream is guided into channels, gathered against barriers, and released at discretion.

Emotion in its more than individual aspect is expressed in those impulses of the collective mind which we call religion.[2] When religious emotion is further disciplined, that is to say, when it is given a *formal* value, we may have as a result two kinds of expression determined respectively by the sensational and by the intellectual content of the mind: one is a universal type of art which we call classical or hieratic; the other is the art of philosophy in its widest sense, including metaphysics. It often happens—indeed, we may eventually be able to postulate it as a law—that the controls which guide religious emotion to philosophical expression also, in the same manner, guide the same emotions to a formal aesthetic expression.

The Gothic epoch reveals such a co-ordination. The philosophy of the ancient world, reaching its zenith in Plato and Aristotle, continued its momentum right down into the Christian era, coming finally to rest with Plotinus and his disciple Porphyry. From the end of the 3rd century there is virtually no philosophical speculation, properly so-called, until we come to the 13th century. It is also possible to say, if we remember Havelock Ellis's definition, quoted in the first chapter, that there is during the same period no classical art, properly so-called. But the interval—no less than a thousand years—is by no

[1] The 12th century has, indeed, its qualities—amongst them a romantic feeling for which the famous story of Abélard and Héloïse is not entirely responsible. Professor Gilson writes: " Il n'en est pas moins vrai que cette époque si féconde, si diverse et qui prépare si diligemment le grand siècle de la scolastique, possède elle aussi son originalité; le XIIe siècle est une période de préparation, mais il n'est pas que cela, et s'il apparaît moins puissant et moins systématique que le XIIIe siècle, il possède en propre une élégance, une grâce, une aisance dans l'acceptation de la vie dont l'époque suivante, plus pédante et plus formelle, n'a pas maintenu la tradition" (*La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, vol. i, pp. 90-1).

[2] The individual aspect has its own forms, resulting in a personal or romantic, as opposed to a classical or hieratic, art or religion. It is expressed in *views* rather than in *dogmas*.

means an age of obscurity and ignorance. In reality, to adopt the words of Professor Gilson,[1] this apparently obscure period is fully occupied in preparing the foundations of mediaeval philosophy. The patristic age is characterized by the substitution of religious thought for philosophic thought (or, more exactly, by the substitution of individual musings for systematic thinking); by the discrete elaboration of the catholic dogma. The aim of theologians such as Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Augustine, is not properly philosophic. There is no question of a reasoned interpretation of the universe: all their conceptions remain emotional, irrational, and mystic. Any system that there may be is theological; a work imaginative in essence, however profound in conception. In short, it is the product of an undisciplined emotion, and the *Confessions* of St. Augustine endure as romantic art rather than as philosophy.

But after St. Augustine, a general cessation of all intellectual activity does undoubtedly intervene.

"Between the fifth century and the first stammerings of the new philosophy, three centuries pass by, laboriously occupied in refashioning a new civilization on the ruins of the Roman world. The restoration of the Empire and of the Roman civil code is the great work of this period; and still, even in the depths of this obscurity, there were men who managed to save from the shipwreck such fragments as they could seize hold of. Through Boethius, Isidore of Seville, and the Venerable Bede, we reach Alcuin, and with him the Carolingian renaissance. The danger is passed. Philosophical speculation is reborn to develop right down to modern times, without ever again encountering any real breach of continuity."[2]

At this stage I cannot do better than continue to follow the guidance of Professor Gilson. From the 9th to the 13th century considerable progress was made, and three important doctrines were established. These we may briefly describe as the determination of the relation of reason to faith, the demonstration of the sensible origin of concepts, and the elaboration of a dialectical method which we nowadays call scholasticism—a method of logic that proceeds by the enumeration of contrary arguments, an exposition of the proposed solution, and a criticism of the objections formulated in the first instance.

But despite these considerable attainments, philosophy, during the 12th and 13th centuries, had grave defects, the principal of which was a lack of systematization. Philosophy is nothing if not conceived as a unity: a reasoned and consistent view of the universe, illuminated throughout by a steady intellectual light. But mediaeval learning was really struggling in semi-darkness: it was built on a blind adherence to a very partial and very perverted knowledge of classical texts. Finally, however, the necessary reform was brought about. Thanks principally to translators at the Univer-

[1] *Le Thomisme*, par Etienne Gilson, Paris, 1922, p. 14.

[2] Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

sity of Toledo, the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, Avicenna's abbreviations and Averroes' commentaries, passed from Arabic into Latin. The unity and universality of Aristotle's system were immediately perceived, and all Christian thought began to adjust itself accordingly. To *adjust* itself: for it immediately became evident that a discrepancy existed between the Aristotelian canon, especially as interpreted by Averroes, and the Christian doctrine as commonly accepted. St. Bonaventura was the first to perceive the danger and to formulate the opposition.

We cannot go deeply into these differences. Briefly it amounted to this: Aristotle's empirical and, in some respects, pantheistical reasoning left no place in the universe for a finite world under the sway of divine providence, nor for the idea of personal immortality. The difficulty—a difficulty that threatened the whole fabric of the Church—lay in the fact that despite these fundamental discrepancies, the Christian philosophers could not fail to recognize the rational superiority of Aristotle's system. A reconciliation of the two philosophies became an urgent necessity, but also seemed an impossibility. Nothing less than the complete assimilation of Aristotelianism into the Christian doctrine was demanded by the situation. It was to this task that St. Thomas Aquinas set himself.

The result was the greatest synthesis in the history of human thought. It involved no less than the complete absorption of the highest attainments of ancient Greek philosophy into the body of the Christian doctrine as developed in the course of thirteen centuries. It was not a mere aggregation of two series of ideas, but the re-thinking of two metaphysical systems into the unity of a new metaphysic.[1] It was the definite constitution of modern philosophy, and it may be doubted if all departures from the essence of this philosophy—and particularly the subjectivist philosophy initiated by Descartes and established by Kant—have been other than unfortunate aberrations of the human reason.

For a modern rationalist (which is not the same thing as a modern materialist) the philosophy of St. Thomas is an absorbing subject, but we must confine ourselves here to the briefest possible outline of its main characteristics, and to these only with the object in view of showing their relevance to Gothic art in general, and to the particular branch of it which we are studying.

Scholasticism is too often regarded as the mere accumulation of traditional concepts, elaborated with relentless logomachy. Nothing is farther from the truth. The integrity of Christian thought was only saved by the exercise of great originality and fearless criticism. "If we are to put ourselves at the right point of view for appreciating that originality

[1] Or even more than this. "Thomist philosophy is no mere Aristotelianism revised, but a masterly synthesis of both Plato and Aristotle with one another and with Augustine, effected by original insight of the first order" (Prof. A. E. Taylor, *St. Thomas Aquinas as a Philosopher*, Oxford, 1924, p. 8). For a somewhat different, and less sympathetic, account of Thomist philosophy and its relevance to modern thought, see L. Rougier, *La Scolastique et le Thomisme* (Paris, 1925).

[writes Professor Taylor [1]] we must begin by understanding quite clearly that the thirteenth century, like the seventeenth and the nineteenth in their various ways, was not one of traditionalism, acquiescence in a heritage from the past, but one of restless and audacious innovation, and that to the eyes of contemporaries 'Brother Thomas' was one of the most audacious of the innovators."

The mere restatement of Christian doctrine in the terms of the Aristotelian system might have been achieved quite easily at the expense of intellectual honesty. But the great synthesis involved at every step the strictest logical rectitude: it was, in fact, based on a definition of the relative spheres of reason and faith which permitted the full development of the rational activity without infringing the truths of revelation.[2] The distinction that St. Thomas established was all the more remarkable in that it did not involve any mutual exclusion of these two faculties (as did the later system of Descartes), but rather placed them in harmonious relationship; and it is to this harmony that the wonderful unity of the Thomist system is due. In the words of Professor Gilson:

"A twofold condition dominated the development of the Thomist philosophy: the distinction between reason and faith, and the necessity of their agreement. The entire realm of philosophy belongs exclusively to the reason; that is to say, philosophy can only accept those things which are accessible to the light of day and demonstrable by its sole resources. Theology, on the contrary, is founded on revelation, that is to say, in effect, on the authority of God. Dogmas are facts of supernatural origin, expressed in formulas whose sense is not entirely penetrable to us, but which we must accept by faith even though we may not be able to understand them. A philosopher argues, therefore, always by seeking in reason the principles of his argument; a theologian argues always by seeking his first principles in revelation. We must note, however, that the two spheres thus defined do occupy in common a certain number of positions. Above all, the agreement between their final conclusions is an absolute certainty, even though this agreement will not appear in fact. Neither reason, when we use it correctly, nor revelation when it has its origin in God, will ever deceive us. And the agreement of truth with truth is a necessity. It is therefore certain that the truth of philosophy may be related to the truth of revelation by an unbroken chain of true and intelligible connection if only our intelligence could understand fully the concepts of faith." [3]

This reaffirmation of the rights of reason, its restoration as the supreme instrument of human knowledge, and as the only means given to man of justifying his inner faith, was the great achievement of the 13th century. It made possible, for the first time in the history of Christianity, a rational system of natural

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] For a modern exposition of the doctrine of cognition upon which such a dichotomy is based, see J. Maritain, *Réflexions sur l'Intelligence*, Paris, 1924.

[3] E. Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1922, vol. ii, pp. 16, 17.

science,[1] as opposed to the mystical interpretations of the universe which Christianity had adapted to its own tenets as a mere continuance of debased Platonic traditions.

I must halt with regret at this very brief indication of the main characteristic of the system of St. Thomas; some of the more detailed aspects of his thought are of great interest and of decided relevance to the condition of philosophy and religion to-day, and I for one would agree with Professor Taylor in recognizing in this mediaeval philosopher "one of the great master-philosophers of human history, whose thought is part of the permanent inheritance of civilized Europeans and whose influence is still living and salutary." My immediate purpose, however, is to claim that the achievements of mediaeval philosophy, culminating in St. Thomas, are exactly paralleled by the achievements of Gothic art. Moreover, the spirit that animates the philosophy of St. Thomas is the spirit that animates the highest expressions of Gothic art. Gothic art is a rational art, an intellectual and logical structure of supreme—and rather austere—beauty.

And just as mediaeval philosophy achieved its triumph through the harmonious development of two distinct principles, reason and revelation, so Gothic art achieved its triumph through the harmonious development of the two distinct tendencies of the aesthetic impulse—the tendency towards abstraction, and the tendency towards naturalism.[2] It would be dangerous to carry the analogy much farther, but we may perhaps correlate reason and abstraction, because the structural and mathematical principles underlying so much Gothic art result in a beauty that is dynamic in its elements and of measured proportions; whilst, in the same way correlating faith and naturalism, we may see in both an intuitive perception of grace (divine or natural) for which no exact symbols can be devised.

§ 3

THE VITALITY OF THE NEW ART thus created was immediately manifested in various developments of technique. The most obvious aspect of these was naturally displayed in the architectural structure of the buildings, where purely aesthetic conceptions of form were carried to the limit—and beyond the limit, as at Beauvais—of material possibility. And once the impetus of this new feeling for form was fully in being, all the fundamental developments of Gothic structure were in the nature of scientific solutions of structural problems; the appearance

[1] "Le platonisme trouvait dans la mystique son dernier achèvement, et il faut dire au contraire que, dans la mesure où la mystique supposerait une intuition et une connaissance directe de Dieu par l'âme, le thomisme constitue la négation radicale de la mystique" (Gilson, *Le Thomisme*, p. 235).

[2] A term used in desperation. The German aestheticians use *Einfühlung*, but the only suggested English equivalent, *empathy*, is too foreign and too dead (never having been naturally born) to be used with a sense of propriety. One means, in opposition to abstraction, a tendency towards a sensitive awareness of the forms found in nature, to the end that they may awake in us a livelier satisfaction.

of the cusped arch is a case in point. Later, of course, came a purely aesthetic elaboration of detail, quite different in essence from the original aesthetic impulse for abstract form, and marking, in a more than metaphysical sense, the overflow of that original impulse. But meanwhile the evolution of architectural forms carried with it the evolution of architectural details. The renaissance of the art of statuary was, as we have already noted, the work of the Romanesque period; but the Gothic genius carried this art of sculpture to a level of power and beauty which it had never attained since the days of Pheidias—a passage of some 1700 years. With statuary arose many other consonant arts, all witnessing to the groundwork of Gothic genius, and none more aptly than the art of stained glass. And though this art, as we have seen, was demanded by the structure of the Gothic cathedral, and particularly needed to satisfy the desire for colour (" Le vitrail," observes M. Mâle in a characteristic epigram, " est l'art des pays sans soleil "), yet, as an art it was only made possible by minor inventions of considerable ingenuity. The production of *translucent* coloured glass (a matter of considerable difficulty in the case of some colours and only obviated by the process of " flashing " [1]), the process of leading, of securing the leaded panel in convenient " armatures " or iron frameworks, and finally the process of grozing—all these had to be invented, or at any rate refined, before the art reached the stage of perfection in which we find it during the 12th and 13th centuries.

When fully developed in this technical sense the art of the 13th century was used as a direct didactic instrument. It was saved from the brutality of modern didactic art by the profound feeling with which it was inspired—a feeling arising not merely from the imagery of the Christian faith, with its rich emotional content, but also from more objective factors of aesthetic worth, such as the balance and vitality of form and the harmony of colour. In this didactic scheme the art of stained glass played a rôle only rivalled by the art of sculpture. If the first object of the teacher should be to engage the attention of his pupil, then what, in a finished Gothic cathedral, could be more commanding than " these pictures painted in living colours "? And what could be more expressive? Sculpture in stone has its very definite material limits, and so has glass-painting, but the scope in subtleties is infinitely greater for the latter art. In the list of significant examples cited by Professor Mâle in his work on the iconography of the Middle Ages,[2] the number drawn from stained-glass windows exceeds those drawn from any other art, sculpture included. But it must be admitted, lest the didactic force of these monuments be exaggerated, that

[1] Clear glass, when still in a pliant state, is dipped into molten coloured glass and thus coated or " flashed " with the desired colour. When blown to the right thinness, the resultant glass is perfectly translucent.

[2] *L'art Religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, 4th edition, Paris, 1919.

the mediaeval artist, especially in the 13th century, often defeated his purpose and placed his histories too high to be read, or to serve any purpose other than the purely sensuous one of delight in colour.

Mâle's conception of the mediaeval cathedral as a book of stone (the metaphor is taken from Victor Hugo) in which were recorded for the instruction of the ignorant all the teachings of the Church in natural science, philosophy, morals, and history, is no doubt a faithful conception, in keeping with such literary expressions as the *Summa* of St. Thomas, the *Mirrors* of Vincent of Beauvais, and the lives of the saints as related in *The Golden Legend*. The decorative trimmings of the cathedrals are, in fact, direct illustrations of such works as these. It is important to have some clear understanding of the way in which, in an age of dogma, the ideas of the Church became expressed in individual works of art.

" By means of statues and windows in a church [writes Professor Mâle[1]] the clergy in the Middle Ages tried to teach their flock the greatest possible number of truths. They fully realized the power of art on souls still innocent and vague. For the immense body of illiterates, for the crowd which had neither psalter nor missal, and who only grasped in Christianity what they actually saw there, it was necessary to materialize the idea, to clothe it in a perceptible form."

Obviously it would be impossible to trust the artist, who might well be quite ignorant of the subtleties of scholasticism, with the interpretation of doctrine. And in fact there is good evidence to show that the mediaeval artist was actually given a very precise commission. The second Council of Nicaea had, in 787, pronounced that " the composition of religious images is not to be left to the initiative of artists: it relates to the principles laid down by the catholic Church and to the religious tradition "; and again: " The art itself belongs to the painter, the arrangement and disposition of it to the Fathers." [2]

And there is every reason to believe that the principles thus enunciated were strictly observed, at any rate, until the end of the 14th century. The famous inventory of Abbot Suger's church of Saint Denis is the best evidence of this, for we see from it that the Abbot not only selected the subjects, but that he arranged the incidents and composed the descriptions to accompany them. Usually there must have been at least two stages between the conception of the design and its execution in stained glass. These two stages are represented by two artists—the illuminator and the glass-painter. It may be doubted if the glass-painter in the Middle Ages ever originated the design of a window. The tradition of pictorial art was in those days wholly in the hands of the illuminators of manuscript books, and to-day the pictorial art of the Middle Ages can only be studied with any sense of complete reality in that category. The practice then, as I see it, would be for the religious authority, whatever person or body of persons that might be, to select

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 456-7.

[2] Quoted by Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

the subject to be treated. The illuminators would then prepare a design, not rigorously observing any of the technical conventions of stained glass, but providing a sufficient basis of fidelity to religious teaching and of general proportion in design for the glass-painter to take the next step, which would be to prepare the cartoon[1] from which the window would be designed and cut. An artist—and he one of the best artists of his age—would make the design; a craftsman would then translate the design to its material. A different method prevails to-day, when the functions of the artist and the craftsman are confused, and the craftsman perishes of his self-sufficiency.

The only actual evidence of the mediaeval method thus divined is the series of designs in the British Museum known as the Guthlac Roll.[2] This manuscript consists of a long strip of vellum covered on one side with eighteen outline drawings of great beauty, illustrating events in the life of Saint Guthlac. Each of the drawings is in a double circular border, measuring about six inches in diameter. No one has ever suggested a more plausible explanation of this curious manuscript than that it is in effect a design prepared by an illuminator for a series of stained-glass medallions illustrating the life of Saint Guthlac. The general resemblance of the scheme of drawing to the arrangement of a typical stained-glass medallion will be seen by a comparison of the companion illustrations on Pl. 3. The objection that the Guthlac Roll drawings do not show the lead lines (as is usual in the designs of later times) is irrelevant, for it is not suggested that the Guthlac Roll is the actual working drawing, but only the basis for the glass-painter's cartoon. But even in these first drawings it may be suggested that the simplicity of the composition, its monochrome state, and the unusual size of the individual drawings, all tend to support the suggestion[3] that we have in this Roll a unique document in the history of mediaeval glass-painting.

The art that resulted from this subordination of the craftsman to the artist, and of the artist to the authority of the Church, had definite characteristics which are, in a large measure, due to this process of control. It is, in the first place, a strictly impersonal art; it follows that it is an art devoid of sentimentality; and finally, it is a universal art.

An impersonal art implies a surrender of personality and the suppression of all those desires which, especially in an artist, seek the aggrandisement of the self. In an impersonal art the artist is there, not to express *his* ideas about the universe, or to record *his* wayward and trivial emotions, but rather to embody in universal images the ideas and emotions of the religious community of which he is

[1] Before paper became a common commodity, the "cartoon" was usually drawn on whitened boards, erected in the form of a bench.

[2] British Museum, Harley Roll, Y. 6.

[3] First made, I believe, by W. de Gray Birch, *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, 1881.

a limb. He will naturally, in pursuance of this aim, seek the " type " rather than the individual, and his figures will be conditioned by intellectual concepts rather than by immediate observation. This does not exclude a generalized observation: indeed, mediaeval art is marked by a heightened realism—which does not, however, conflict with its abstract or " absolute " universality. The features of the executioners in Pl. 9 could not be surpassed for their grim intensity. But still these executioners are impersonal, being our idea of an executioner rather than AB, an individual whom the artist had known in actual life. And even such realism as we see in this example became, as the 13th century advanced, of a more subdued order. The features of the most agonized souls acquire an ideal calm, and all the emotions are restrained in expression, the attitudes simple, and all representations imbued with that intense solemnity which only classical art can attain.

It is this restraint which saves mediaeval art, even in its most pathetic manifestations, from the vice of sentimentality. Sentimentality may be defined as the lavishment of unnecessary emotion on commonplace events. It arises when the individual allows his personal reactions to pathos to be expressed in a manner which his rational experience might tell him was indecent. It is the denial of art, for art is emotion organized into formal beauty. It is a vice from which early Gothic art is entirely free.

The danger for a classical art, such as the Gothic, is that its forms should become too rational, turning to mere desiccated formulas and spiritless abstractions. This happens whenever the underlying emotion is too feeble to animate the rational structure of art, and may be observed, for example, in the later developments of Byzantine art Gothic art was never deficient in the quality of emotion, but this emotion, disciplined by thought, took on those abstract forms which may perhaps be grouped under the term idealism. It is most necessary, however, not to imply anything metaphysical in this: in art it amounts to no more than the evocation of an ideal type, and though these types may eventually become traditional and lifeless, yet at the period of their formulation they are determined by imaginative stress and fierce conviction.

In this subordination of the artist to the doctrine, there was no sense of frustration. The vitality of Gothic art is evidence enough of that.[1] It was a relation of service rather than of servitude. And as one effect there came into being a certain universality or internationality of art, for the lack of an understanding of which many historians of art go blindly astray. The first thing to realize is the universality of the Church. There was, of course, during the whole of the Middle Ages, considerable development of thought within the Church, but at any given time the dogma of the Church would be uniform for the whole of the

[1] Viollet-le-Duc, following a suggestion of Victor Hugo's, started a theory of " a kind of liberty of the press " in Gothic Art. Mâle has ably combated this romantic fancy. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 460-2.

Christian world. A universal Church also at that time implied a common clergy, and the " career " of the Church was in point of fact open to all Christian nationalities absolutely without distinction—and free from the barrier of language, for the Church operated through an international language—Latin. In this way the Bishop of Chartres might well be—and once was—an Englishman; and an English see might conformably be occupied by a Frenchman. The Church being in effect the centre of all culture, all culture became international. Professor Sorley,[1] in discussing the beginnings of English philosophy, writes of " an international commonwealth of scholars," and goes on to say:

" National characteristics are never so strongly marked in science and philosophy as in other branches of literature, and their influence takes longer in making itself felt. The British birth or residence of a mediaeval philosopher is of little more than biographical interest; and the attempt to trace its influence on the ideas or style of his work is apt to be conjectural or arbitrary. His work belongs to a tradition only slightly affected by the differences between nation and nation; it is a part of the history of philosophy, without being distinctively British."

All this might be said with equal truth of mediaeval English art, and in this matter art follows science and philosophy rather than " other branches of literature." No doubt the Latin language, the universal medium of the philosophers, accounted, as Professor Sorley says, for " community of culture, of topics, and of audience." In the same way the universal symbols of religion bound the artists to common interests and to a common aim. Art, like philosophy, was the servant of religion: and just as philosophy, through the instrumentality of reason, attempted to construct a system of knowledge, consistent with the revealed doctrines of Christian faith, so art, through the instrumentality of the senses, attempted to give to that system and that revelation the appeal of beauty. But in each case the mould was rigid; and was universal; and thus it came about that activities which are by nature wayward, individual, and discordant, submitted to a discipline serenely international in form.

That is the wider aspect. In the period with which we deal—particularly within the 13th century—there were certain conditions of an economic and political order which effected, as between England and the Continent, an identity of interests and culture of a more intimate and exacting force. In contrast with philosophy, art to a great extent, and of course absolutely in its highest type, architecture, is confined to the place of its creation. Thought is free; it is conveyed in books and in conversation and becomes, among the happy few, an ever pervading and continuous presence. Art is detailed and decorative and static. And therefore it is relatively local. The conceptions of art, for the period we are discussing, are a part of the pervasive mentality; but those conceptions are as

[1] *A History of English Philosophy*, by W. R. Sorley, Litt.D., LL.D., Cambridge, 1920.

often as not entrusted for execution to relatively stationary talents. From this fact creep in those influences of environment and local tradition which deter-

Ph. V. and A. Museum

FIG. 1

mine what we might call the provincialities of art. Divorced from any universal thought, as onward from the Renaissance all art tended to be, these traits become extremely definite, especially so long as the means of intercommunication remain limited enough to restrain the merely imitative instincts of the artist. It is often said to-day that means of communication have become so perfected that all the world is as one country; all ideas, all styles, and all discoveries are universally shared. But *this* community of ideas has not brought with it any corresponding unity of thought, or any order in the expression of it. Rather it has made a mutiny; instead of the discipline that classical epochs derive from their impersonal dogmas, we find a multitude of individual notes, each echoing each, and producing the discords of an indistinct romanticism.

In the stained glass of the Gothic period we find certain general characteristics of style which cannot be limited to any particular nationality, and which are indeed the general concepts of design of Gothic art itself, worked out in the medium of stained glass. For example, as noted by Westlake, the foliage motives which are carved on the capitals in the crypt at York reappear, adapted, in the 12th century fragments of borders in the north clerestory. It is not a question of direct copying; it is merely the decorative ideas of the time similarly expressed in different materials.

The Patriarch shown in the Frontispiece represents the earliest style of figure work found in any quantity in this country. At Canterbury there are thirty-four such figures, and originally they were placed in the clerestory windows of the choir. The coils of foliage which at present fill the spandrels belong to a slightly later date: originally the figures were set in the plain lancet windows of the clerestory with no accompaniment other than an even border of stylized foliage, such as is illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2. These foliated

Ph. V. and A. Museum

FIG. 2

borders are one of the most obvious evidences of a classical strain in Gothic art that it would be possible to find. They are undoubtedly derived from the acanthus and other idealized organic motives of Hellenic art and suffer little change in the transference. More curious still is the undoubted presence, in some of the Canterbury ornament, of motives derived from Arabic script. Later, I think, one such motive was misunderstood and gradually became a border of crowns, such as Westlake illustrates (vol. i, Pl. LXIV) from windows at Sens and Canterbury.[1]

The figures themselves have forsaken the stiff symbolical attitudes of Romanesque art, and while retaining an impersonal sublimity are yet infused with vitality and express a certain sense of movement. The draperies are formal, but serve to emphasize this sense of vigour.

The colours are comparatively subdued; the bare flesh is cut in pink glass; the rest is a quiet harmony of blues, pale green, white, brown, and yellow, arranged in fairly broad masses with no effort towards "jewel-like" quality. From their high stations these early figures look down with a certain serenity and benevolence.

The architectural settings are rudimentary, but interesting on that account. In most cases it consists of a simple column on each side of the figure, with an arch spanning the head.

It is probable that the 12th century windows were mainly of this monumental character. The earliest subject windows we know of, belonging to the

[1] See for a general survey of this subject an article entitled "The Development of Ornament from Arabic Script," by Archibald H. Christie, *Burlington Magazine*, No. CCXXI, vol. xl, and No. CCXXII, vol. xli, June-July 1922.

school of Chartres, date from the second half of the 12th century.[1] The only example in England is the rather confused and decayed panel which has at some time been inserted into the Five Sisters window at York, illustrating the story of Habbakuk feeding Daniel in the lions' den.[2] The magnificent medallion windows at Canterbury are fully in the character of the 13th century and may, as Westlake suggests, be dated between 1220 and 1240. The development in decorative elements was twofold: the necessity of telling a story in a series of medallions led to the decorative arrangement of these medallions: the "*armature*," or iron framework, was itself a subject for pattern, and very beautiful designs were evolved, showing a skilful counterplay of circles, lozenges, quatrefoils, and squares, with their appropriate borders and interspaces. The second development was in the actual colour of the glass. It is doubtful if the "metal" of the 13th century has ever been surpassed for toughness and brilliance. Some of its beauty it owes to fortuitous causes—to its unevenness, its impurity, and the patina of time. But apart from the wealth of colour in the material, there was, during the 13th century, a conscious play with colour for its own sake—apart from the earlier schematic use of colour and equally apart from the later naturalistic use of it. The variety of colours used in the medallion of the Sower (Pl. 1) is typical and purely aesthetic in its intention

With these early 13th century medallions we first become fully conscious of the part played by the actual painting in stained glass. It is true that the earlier figures had a broad effective scheme of drawing, and the curls of the hair and beard of the Prophet in our illustration are beautifully conceived; but with the 13th century medallions a fine dramatic sense of line was developed and continued in force throughout the century. And with the sense of line came the sense of dramatic composition. The grim intensity of the figures of the stone-throwers in Pl. 9 and the dismay expressed in the simple arrangement of the scene where William of Kellett chops his own leg (Pl. 8) adequately illustrate this development.

The highly stylized motives of the decorative borders of the 12th century were no longer in keeping with this dramatic mode, and as the century advances we accordingly get a naturalization of these motives. They begin to coil with a more natural and vigorous movement; they assume more natural forms; and we shall see that eventually, in the 14th century, the artists copy directly from their own observation—from the ivy and the oak in their own fields. In a decorative sense this was a retrograde development, and the ornamental motives or designs of the 13th century never had the amplitude and richness of the more formal work of the 12th century.

[1] Typical examples are illustrated by Fischer, *op. cit.*, plates 7 (Poitiers) and 8 (Le Champ, Isère).

[2] See Benson, *Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of the City of York* (York, 1915), pp. 4-5, Fig. 2.

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

FIG. 3

Towards the last quarter of the 13th century, a greyer mood seems to have descended on our glass-painters. It may be that they were required to give more light in the churches; it may be that the supply of ruby glass, always somewhat precarious, gave away. Whatever the reason, there developed, in the latter part of the 13th and early 14th centuries the technique generally known as "grisaille" painting. It implies the use of large areas of clear quarries painted in black or brown enamel with simple and unobtrusive patterns of foliage. Grisaille work at this period is of two kinds: it may consist of geometrical patterns of quarries, often outlined in coloured bands, on which are painted designs of foliage, often in imitation of a trellised plant. Or, in a somewhat different manner, a grisaille scheme may be used in combination with subject medallions. The best instance of this latter method is perhaps seen in the windows of the Chapter House at York, which, though now much decayed and obscured, are supreme examples of grisaille work. They belong to the end of the 13th century, and mark, perhaps, the highest point to which, in the art of stained glass, the close observation of naturalistic motives was combined with a purely formal conception of design. From the mouth of a strange beast, half animal, half fish, at the base of the window there issues the stem of a flowering plant, either oak, maple, thorn, ivy, or strawberry. The symmetrically coiled branches of foliage spread over a leaded design of geometrical quarry work—a pattern of

intersecting quatrefoils and lozenges. This quarry design is then in its turn subordinated to a geometrical framework of a larger design, outlined in bands of coloured glass. Into this design are set panels of figure subjects—four to each light—taken from the Bible or the Golden Legend. Each window has an appropriate border, and in the tracery-lights are various heraldic shields, arranged vertically.

It is difficult now to make out the subject medallions, so decrepit are they, but enough may be seen to show that with the growth of a feeling for naturalistic design, the art of figure drawing lost its dramatic intensity. A new tradition was arising, which we shall describe in the next chapter; but meanwhile, side by side with the new style, and here in the Chapter House at York in its very embrace, the old style persisted, in an impoverished state. The more ancient art drew its inspiration from emotionally conceived ideas; once these ideas were lifeless, their expression could only persist in pedantic traditions. But the new art drew its inspiration from the direct observation of nature, and though the artist for a time still felt the necessity of presenting ideas, he expressed these listlessly, reserving his happier energies for the fresh liberties of an age of sentiment.

§ 4

AN IMPORTANT AND HIGHLY contentious subject must now be discussed. Are these characteristics, which we can ascribe to English stained glass of the early Gothic period, in any way peculiarly English characteristics, or are they identical with the characteristics of French glass of the period?

Westlake, for whose opinion we must have a very high respect, came to the definite conclusion that there was, in fact, no distinction between French and English glass of the 12th and 13th centuries. He says of the Becket windows at Canterbury:

"There are histories of St. Thomas very similar to this in many churches of France, and some fragments of a series remain at Lincoln. Those at Chartres and Sens especially abound in such close resemblance of design and detail that I am convinced they were designed and executed by the same hand as the Canterbury work, and that the windows or the artists were imported into England from France. . . . The identity of the craftsmanship is unmistakable; moreover the arrangement of one of the series, the fifth window in Trinity Chapel, is exactly like the St. Joseph window at Chartres."[1]

He further says that many details of design at Canterbury and Chartres are "almost exactly the same," and he illustrates ornamental spandrils of foliage and crown border (Pl. LXIV) in support of his contention.

Further, in discussing the glass at Lincoln Westlake observes that some of the borders there "exhibit a different character to the work at Chartres and Canterbury, Sens and Rouen, but are not unlike some at Bourges." He then

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 107.

1. CANTERBURY—North aisle of the Choir. THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER (SEMINATOR). *Early 13th century*

VIATOR

infers that " possibly the Lincoln glass or the artists employed upon it were of the Bourges school."

A more recent but equally distinguished authority, Monsieur Emile Mâle, writing in a work which is entitled the History of Art, but which might be more accurately described as a History of French Art, eagerly seizes on Westlake's lead[1] and elaborates a claim, not merely for the French origin of the early Gothic stained glass in England, but for nearly all our stained glass from the 12th to the 15th century.[2]

Mâle begins by a description of the Chartres school, which he thinks may have originated in Paris, although there are no survivals at Notre Dame to witness to the supposition. About 1210 the school was in full activity at Chartres, and for a time the Chartres school dominated the scene. M. Mâle then repeats the statements of Westlake, *e.g.*, that similar decorative motives are found at Chartres and Canterbury, that there are windows devoted to St. Thomas at Chartres, Sens, Canterbury, and Lincoln; that at Canterbury a window has exactly the same " armature " as one at Chartres, and that the prophet Daniel at Chartres wears the same curious headgear as the prophet Isaiah at Canterbury. He finds evidences of the Chartres school in the glass at Bourges, Tours, Le Mans, and Sens, and is able to point to a Rouen window which bears the signature: *Clemens vitrarius Carnotensis.*

In more detail, his supposition is that there was at Chartres a central workshop; that this workshop established an *atelier* wherever work was to be done, and supplied the *atelier* with the necessary materials and designs. That designs were supplied is evident, he thinks, from the fact that some of the windows are obviously bad fits; he instances the case of Le Mans. At Bourges, on the other hand, there are so many windows of contemporary workmanship that we may assume that a master glass-painter was on the spot.

By the middle of the 13th century the principal workshop is no longer at Chartres, but has moved to Paris, and

[1] Monsieur Mâle, who always writes with wit as well as with authority, begins by paying a handsome tribute to Westlake, which is not, however, without its malice. After remarking on the limitations of Lasteyrie's *Histoire de la peinture sur verre*, which was published in 1835, he goes on: "Aujourd'hui on a le droit de demander davantage à l'historien de l'art. Seul, un Anglais, Westlake, dans un livre intitulé: A history of design in painted glass, qui a paru à Londres il y a vingt-cinq ans, a su faire autre chose qu'une description. Le premier, il a entrevu des rapports. Il aura la mérite d'avoir montré que les vitraux des cathédrales anglaises sont presque tous français d'origine" (*Histoire de l'Art*, ed. André Michel, vol. ii, part 1, Paris, 1906, p. 372).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 396. Monsieur Mâle finds it convenient to ignore the witness of an earlier French historian of stained glass. Le Vieil (*L'Art de la peinture sur verre et de la vitrerie*, Paris, 1774, p. 24) states that the Chartularium of the Abbey at Braine-le-Comte, and the *Index Cœnobiorum Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, mention that in 1153 English glass-painters were employed at the instance of Matilda of Boulogne, Queen of England, to furnish painted windows for the Abbey which the Comte de Dreux and his third wife, the Comtesse de Braine, were building at Braine-le-Comte. The evidence, it must be confessed, is not very precise, but it is worth at least as much as M. Mâle's unsupported assumptions.

there was developed that definite style still so well represented by the Sainte Chapelle, of which a red and blue trellis background is the distinctive feature.

When we come to the 14th century Monsieur Mâle again follows the lead of Westlake, and establishes a central school at Rouen. The grisaille windows of the Chapter House at York, the similar windows at Exeter Cathedral and Merton College, Oxford, are all attributed to this common source. There is even a legend to help us, to the effect that the Exeter windows were actually bought in Rouen.

It is necessary to examine this theory with some care, for it is the kind of theory which, expressed without much regard for the rules of evidence or the methods of logic, seizes hold of the general imagination by virtue of its inclusive simplicity and thus rapidly vitiates all discussion and distorts the clear aspect of history. Obviously there are at least two alternative possibilities, and these we must examine before we can accept the Westlake-Mâle generalization. Firstly, it is possible that a more exact examination may reveal differences of style or the presence of other factors which point to a more general distribution of craftsmanship; and secondly, even assuming a central workshop at Chartres or elsewhere, it by no means follows that the actual designs, upon which we must base any general classification, were local in origin or character.

I have already expressed the opinion that Gothic linear art (in effect, Gothic painting) was concentrated and developed within the art of the manuscript illuminator. Now if we are to make distinctions on the lines of nationality which are, as a matter of fact, conceptions of a later period, it must be admitted that the schools of design located in England during the 12th and first half of the 13th centuries show a certain individuality. The heavy but sumptuous style of the 12th century English manuscripts is unmistakable, but the parallel in glass-painting can no longer be traced because the necessary material is lacking. Of the 13th century manuscripts the most recent authority has noted that:

"As the century advances it becomes often very difficult to distinguish English work from that of Northern France, and it is almost impossible to lay down any general rules for differentiating between the two. Sometimes it is only a note of provenance, or the more marked English character of the script that enables us to decide the point. There is, however, in the main a vigour and forcefulness in the purely English work, particularly in the drawing of the faces . . . to which there does not seem an exact parallel in the more refined and delicate French types. This quality extends over the whole of the decoration, and is combined with a fertility of invention and a splendid sense of design and colour. The English characteristics gradually overcame the strong influence of the French work, which rose to such a marvellous degree of perfection under St. Louis, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century the two styles are entirely distinct."[1]

[1] Eric G. Millar, F.S.A., *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (Paris and Brussels, 1926), p. 44.

It is in such terms, *mutatis mutandis*, that we should describe the evolution of design in English glass-painting from what we know or divine of the 12th century style down to the definite features of the 14th century style. I think we can distinguish, in English stained glass of that period, the same vigour and forcefulness, the same fertility of invention and splendid sense of design and colour, that Mr. Millar finds in the illuminated manuscripts. To such considerations we must add what we know of the wanderings of mediaeval artists. The Church regarded its artists as servants to be sent wherever their talents were immediately in demand; and if the assumption of a centralized school and workshop for the design and manufacture of stained glass be admitted, then equally we must be prepared to find such a school staffed by men of different nations. And these are, in fact, the precise words used by the historian of Abbot Suger's administration in the book referred to by Lasteyrie and Westlake:[1]

"Vitrearum etiam novarum præclaram varietatem, ab ea prima quæ incipit a Stirps, Jesse in capite ecclesiæ, usque ad eam quæ superest principali portæ in introitu Ecclesiæ tam superius quam inferius, magistrorum multorum *de diversis nationibus*,[2] manu exquisita, depingi fecimus."

But this theory of a centralized origin of stained glass in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, even in this modified sense, deprived of its pride of nationality, seems to rest on very presumptive evidence. In the first place, it treats the art of stained glass in isolation, and though the French critic is prepared to go very far in his patriotic claims, no one has yet ventured to claim for French artists the whole of the sculpture, wall-paintings, textiles, and other arts associated with the architecture of the English cathedrals. It is a little difficult to see why stained glass should have been selected for this honour, since its peculiarly fragile nature hardly lends itself to an hypothesis which implies long and difficult transport at a time when means of transport were uncertain and insecure. The safe carriage of the complete equipment of the windows of Lincoln Cathedral from their supposed workshop at Bourges is a feat that a modern master of industry, with all the aids of modern transport by sea and land at his disposal, might well be proud of. For the 13th century the idea is not so plausible.

And why should the hypothesis be necessary? Does the glass-painting of the 13th century in England differ in any radical way from the English wall-paintings of the same period? The state of this latter art is even more difficult to reconstruct from its present remains than the art of stained glass, but enough has

[1] *Livre de l'Administration de l'Abbé Suger*, par le Moine Guillaume. Quoted by Lasteyrie, p. 29, from *L'Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Denys en France*, par dom Michel Félibien, Paris, Livre IV, pp. 151-171.

[2] The possibility that the word "nationibus" might have had a narrower connotation in those days does not seem to me to affect the cogency of the passage.

been deciphered to show that the art was one of considerable accomplishment [1] and directly comparable with the art of stained glass. Since we cannot import painted walls, must we invent a theory of imported artists?

The art of sculpture, more complete in its survivals and existing not only in the large cathedrals, but dispersed wherever the art was called into being by decorative needs, and showing, wherever it does exist, the prevailing excellence of the age, is an even more considerable parallel. It is not conceivable that these arts, all directed to one end, and all executed at the same time, should be other than the result of closest co-operation. If local artists were found competent enough for the architecture, sculpture, wall-painting, and other decorative arts, it is difficult to see why equally competent artists should not have been forthcoming for the art of stained glass.

The only justification for the theory of imported stained glass must, in the face of these probabilities, rest on the closest stylistic resemblances between the stained glass of England and France. We have already seen the vague comparisons upon which Westlake rests his hypothesis. There is nothing more exact. The whole idea rests upon a comparative study that in any other art, say that of painting, would be regarded as totally inadequate and superficial. Stylistic and decorative details, which are the commonplaces of the period, are given a significance which is altogether false. The close examination of line and colour, which alone can lead us to any sound conclusion, is not attempted—and could not, indeed, very well be attempted in Westlake's day, when the face-to-face comparison of the glass of the two countries, either in museums or by means of photographic reproductions, was scarcely possible. With a more scientific equipment it has now become evident that any exact parallelisms are difficult to establish. There are many parallels of idea, of iconography, or technique; but none, that I know of, of style or design.[2] A comparison of Lincoln and Canterbury does not seem to reveal any very definite resemblances, either to each other, or of either to the glass at Chartres. The Lincoln glass, in fact, seems to have a distinct tonality of colour, being of a

[1] The roundel of the Virgin and Child at Chichester and the figure of St. Peter at Canterbury, for example, must be accepted as indications of a more extensive art.

[2] The closest parallel in my own judgement is between the 13th century medallions in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and certain windows at Le Mans. Compare especially the medallion portraying the martyrdom of St. Gervais at Le Mans (illustrated in J. Roussel, *Les Vitraux* (Paris, n.d.) vol. i, Pl. 2), with the medallions portraying the martyrdom of St. Stephen (Pl. 9) and the beheading of St. John the Baptist in the Jerusalem Chamber. There is, in each case, a grim realism bordering on caricature that might well be the work of the same hand. Mâle gives the Le Mans glass of this period to the Chartres school, but without citing any exact evidence. I would rather suggest that the same artist at different periods in his career painted at both Le Mans and Westminster (assuming that the Westminster medallions belong to the original structure of the Abbey, which is by no means certain) and perhaps at Chartres, though I have seen no evidence of a close parallel at the latter place. The nationality of the artist is unknown—and immaterial.

2. EATON BISHOP, HEREFORDSHIRE. SAINT MICHAEL WEIGHING A SOUL. *Early 14th century*

lighter and more varied effect than either Canterbury or Chartres. And Westlake himself surmises a variety of designers at Lincoln. Moreover, he is struck by a distinction in design.[1] The borders at Lincoln, he admits, " exhibit a different character to the work at Canterbury and Chartres, Sens and Rouen, but are not unlike some at Bourges." On this vague comparison we get the kind of supposition that so delights M. Mâle: " Possibly the Lincoln glass or the artists employed upon it were of the Bourges school." But it is doubtful if this particular comparison altogether serves M. Mâle's purpose. For M. Mâle has ascribed the Bourges glass to the school of Chartres.[2] The exigencies of this comparative method have thus led our authorities into obvious confusion, for the glass at Lincoln cannot at one moment differ from the work of the Chartres school, and at another moment be included within its scope.

During the second half of the 13th century mediaeval art began to grow less universal in its expression, and immediately we can detect more definite signs of local characteristics. About the middle of the century M. Mâle supposes that the principal *atelier* was no longer at Chartres, but had moved to Paris and there set to work on the equipment of the Sainte Chapelle and Notre Dame. A new and quite distinct type of glass then came into vogue, the distinguishing feature of which was the general use of a background of trellis-work in blue and red glass, which, in the mass, has a rather unpleasant purple effect. Now this feature, which became almost universal in France, is almost unknown in England. Diaper background did appear in England, but the glass painters have never resorted to the mere repetition of a geometrical motive. The nearest approach to the monotony of the French designs is to be seen in the east window of the south transept of Christ Church, Oxford, where a diaper of blue rosettes and ruby lozenges is somewhat reminiscent of the effect of the Sainte Chapelle windows. At Eaton Bishop the late 13th century figures have a background of trellised quarries, but here the colour is so diverse and fresh, and the drawing of foliage pattern on the quarries so free and individual, as to be in no sense comparable with the French practice.

The mention of the Eaton Bishop glass brings us to the final consideration in this argument, and to the most decisive fact of all. There still exist in England survivals of early Gothic glass-paintings which exhibit not merely English, but even more localized characteristics. The splendid glass at Eaton Bishop, Herefordshire, is a pre-eminent example[3] (see Pls. 2 and 11). It is not strictly comparable with any glass in France, nor

[1] Vol. i, p. 76.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, part 1 (1906), pp. 376-7.

[3] This window appears to have been a donation of Adam Murimouth, a Canon of Hereford Cathedral, who became Canon of Exeter Cathedral in 1328. See " Some remarks on the Ancient Stained Glass in Eaton Bishop Church, co. Hereford," by George Marshall, F.S.A., *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 1922, pp. 101-14.

even with any other glass in England, and one can only suppose that it emanated from a local school at Hereford. At Great Bricett, in Suffolk, there are four early 14th century tracery lights representing the symbols of the Evangelists, the drawing being of a stringy, uncertain type unparalleled elsewhere. The stained glass at Selling in Kent, which dates from the first years of the 14th century, and shows figures of saints and shields of arms against grisaille backgrounds, may well be related to the grisaille glass of the same period at Salisbury, for the reasons given by Westlake (vol. i, p. 98), but there are no good reasons for doubting that the Salisbury glass is of English origin. Similarly, it seems evident that the Merton College windows constitute a local type, to which it is possible that the fragments at Stanton Harcourt, Stanton St. John, Waterperry, Kidlington, and Dorchester may be related. Again, there can be no doubt that a local type existed in Kent during the 13th and 14th centuries, its centre being Canterbury. As we advance in the 14th century the local types grow more numerous and diverse, and M. Mâle will find it difficult to ascribe to a central school in France such examples as those illustrated from Arlingham (Pl. 14), Deerhurst (Pl. 12), Gloucester (Pls. 20 and 21), Tewkesbury (Pl. 18), Birts Morton (Fig. 6), Notgrove (Pl. 13), Wells (Pl. 10), and Fladbury (Pl. 15).

It would be possible to trace this argument in closer detail, but I hope the case is evident enough from this review of its general aspects. It is only necessary to repeat that we are concerned not with the art of one nation or another, but with the art of a period, and, more significantly, with the art of a religion, and there is a unity about this art which far transcends its local circumstance. To mistake this unity of spirit for a unity of technique is one of the strangest errors that could befall the historian or critic; and on the basis of this misconception to build up a theory of centralized schools and elaborate exportation is little short of fantastic. One cannot, in fact, help imputing to its most enthusiastic exponent prejudices that are based on a conception of nationalism totally foreign to the age and the art in question; and that the theory did, in this instance, originate with an English writer is only a further witness to the strange fact that English critics, always innately puritanical, have ever been peculiarly ready to disown evidences of aesthetic feeling among their own countrymen.

Ph. Artists Illus., Ltd.

3A. MEDALLION FROM THE GUTHLAC ROLL. (British Museum, Harley Roll, Y 6.) *Late 12th century*

Ph. V. and A Museum

3B. A BETROTHAL. (Victoria and Albert Museum.)
Probably English, first half of the 13th century (see p. 25)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

4. CANTERBURY—Rose window of the North-East Transept. PRUDENCE AND TEMPERANCE, FROM A SERIES OF THE FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES. *Late 12th or early 13th century* (see p. 231)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

5. CANTERBURY—North aisle of the Choir. THE THREE ESTATES OF VIRGINITY, CONTINENCE, AND MARRIAGE. *Early 13th century* (see p. 231)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

6. CANTERBURY. ADAM DELVING. One of the series of figures, representing the genealogy of Christ, originally in the clerestory of the Choir. Now in the West window.

Late 12th or early 13th century (see p. 97)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

7. CANTERBURY—North aisle of the Choir. LOT'S WIFE TURNED TO A PILLAR OF SALT.
Early 13th century (see p. 231)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

8. CANTERBURY—Chapel of St. Thomas. WILLIAM OF KELLETT WOUNDING HIS LEG WITH A HATCHET. FROM A SERIES ILLUSTRATING THE MIRACLES OF ST. THOMAS. *Early 13th century* (see p. 30)

9. WESTMINSTER ABBEY—
Jerusalem Chamber.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. STEPHEN
First half of the 13th century (see p. 38)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

Ph. V. and A. Museum

10. WELLS CATHEDRAL. FIGURE OF AN ANGEL FROM A REPRESENTATION OF THE LAST JUDGMENT. *Early 14th century* (see pp. 42 and 233)

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11. EATON BISHOP, HEREFORDSHIRE. VIRGIN AND CHILD. *Early 14th century*
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DEERHURST, GLOS. SAINT CATHERINE.
Early 14th century
(see p. 42)

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Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

13. NOTGROVE, GLOS. VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Early 14th century (see p. 42)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S

14. ARLINGHAM, GLOS. FIGURE OF A FEMALE SAINT.
First half of the 14th century (see pp. 42 and 233)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

15. FLADBURY, WORCS. VIRGIN AND CHILD. *First half of the 14th century*
(see p. 42)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

16. OXFORD—The Bodleian Library. ST. MARTIN AND THE BEGGAR.

First half of the 14th century

Ph. V. and A. Museum

17. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. A HARPY PLAYING A TAMBOURINE; SET IN SILVER-STAIN QUARRIES. *Middle of the 14th century*

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18. TEWKESBURY ABBEY. FIGURE OF A KNIGHT, PROBABLY HUGH DESPENSER THE YOUNGER. *About 1344* (see p. 104)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

19. GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL—East window. THE ARMS OF RICHARD 2ND, LORD TALBOT (d. 1356). *Middle of the 14th century* (see p. 104)

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GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
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(see p. 42)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S

21.
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
East window. ST. PETER. *Middle of the 14th century*
(see p. 42)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF SENTIMENT

Was an Grösse verloren geht, wird an Schönheit gewonnen.
—WORRINGER, *Formprobleme der Gotik.*

§ 1

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN that there existed in Byzantine art an element which, avowedly popular in origin, became concentrated in the monasteries about the 9th century, and took on a shape in striking contrast with the official or hieratic art of the Imperial Church. For some centuries this art developed in obscurity, being confined to the monastic buildings and to their illuminated books. Then early in the 13th century this subterranean spirit broke forth and swept Europe in the tremendous emotional expansion which we call the Franciscan Movement.

For the proper appreciation of the second period of Gothic art it is essential to understand the origins and characteristics of this revolution of sentiment. But before we discuss the historical aspects of this development, we should realize its psychological necessity, for the whole matter has its roots in those contrasted attitudes towards the external world which were briefly defined in the first chapter. We saw there that in contrast with the will that sought to construct an absolute orderliness away from the flux of events, there was the will that sought to identify itself with that flux. On the one hand, shyness, distrust, and the exercise of man's unique and isolating faculty, the reason; on the other hand, a perception of universal harmony, a confidence in the scheme of nature, and the free exercise of spontaneous feelings. These two contrasted attitudes are always immanent in man, and the predominance of one or the other in any epoch is determined, perhaps mainly, by the economic structure of society.

The official Byzantine art, like the Gothic art to which it contributed a strain, was of the unearthly and rational type. It offered no harbour for the emotional longings of simple people. And with the building up of scholasticism, the very humanity of the Christian doctrine tended to become lost in allegorical interpretation. Not only were the visual arts then devoid of sentiment,

but the Christian story itself seemed to have become cold and inanimate.

Against this paralysis of the emotions the Franciscan movement was an unconscious protest. St. Francis himself can scarcely have been the naïve mystic of popular legend: he was in effect a fundamental critic of the existing order of things and a bold constructor and administrator of an alternative order. It is related in his biographies that his sense of a mission came to him in a vision. One day he was meditating among the ruins of a chapel near Assisi dedicated to St. Damian, and whilst he sat there he seemed to hear a voice saying to him, " Francis, seest thou not that my house is in ruins; go and restore it for me." The image is significant: it is a simile that has been dear to all critics and reformers throughout the course of history, and it serves to indicate that the Franciscan spirit came as a protest rather than as a positive inspiration, as a revolt rather than as an acquiescence.

It was in 1210 that Innocent III first gave his sanction to the order. From that moment the spirit of St. Francis spread through Europe like an evangel. The order of Tertiaries or Brethren of Penitence, an outlet for those who, though desiring to take the general vows of the order, might still maintain their social callings, was established in 1221. St. Francis himself died in 1226, but the movement initiated by him continued to grow in popularity and influence, and by 1264 (at the very moment when St. Thomas was perfecting the rational philosophy of Christianity) the order comprised 8,000 houses and 200,000 brethren. Meanwhile, in 1216, the movement had been reinforced by the order established by St. Dominic, whose objects were substantially the same as those of St. Francis, though not on so popular a level. But both orders expressed, in their genesis and organization, a new type of piety which had arisen as a reaction from the lifeless condition of the Church.

This new spirit of piety must not, however, be placed in too severe a contrast with the development of either Gothic art or scholastic philosophy. It should be remembered that both Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans, and St. Bonaventura was a Franciscan. In the aspects that interest us, the Franciscan spirit merely seized on and developed an art external to the Byzantine and Romanesque elements of the Gothic tradition. This external art was the subterranean, popular, and monastic art of the Byzantine culture, and to this art the Franciscan movement gave sensibility and imagination. It enriched it with dramatic emotion and a sense of the picturesque, developing to the full the romantic content of the Christian story.

" A new Christian art was called into being by a conception of the Christian religion which was at once simple and natural, penetrated with love and intimate enthusiasm, and daily expressed in all its picturesqueness by Francis and his disciples in their preaching and their poetry. The Franciscan contemplation, unlike other mystic contemplations, provoked the study of nature, of that nature in which the Franciscans saw the most

faithful and the most exact image of God. In addition, the personal affection which Francis inspired, the ardour which caused people to represent to themselves his figure and the miraculous events of his life, and, finally, the entirely human character, at once sublime and simple, of that figure and that life, all this might have been designed to inspire the work of artists. And this is not all: the wide expansion of the mendicants had as a result, during nearly two centuries, an absolutely uninterrupted building of innumerable churches and convents, which, in their turn, had to be decorated with frescoes, altar-pieces, sculpture, and monuments of every kind. A wide field of activity was opened to art, giving full play to all creative forces." [1]

This new influence was made effective through the intermediary of literature, and of this Franciscan literature we must take some note, for its influence on the whole subsequent development of Christian art was absolute and far-reaching, and remained intact for at least three centuries. The Renaissance itself was not enough to submerge it, but merely united with it and even so on a subsidiary plane.

The first and indeed the typical manner of expression in the new movement was the practice of preaching. The sermon had hitherto been delivered in Latin, and had grown into the mere exposition of theological doctrine. For a people hungering for sentiment, as all people in the mass do, it had no appeal whatsoever. The Franciscan preachers, speaking the vulgar tongue, and expounding, not the dry logic of the schools, but the tragic life and death of Jesus Christ, came into this desert like a living stream of water. Their sermons had all the force, not merely of religious heart-searchings, but of dramatic and picturesque entertainments. It is related that when St. Anthony was about to preach, a great crowd of men and women, even as many as thirty thousand, would come the previous night to Padua from the neighbouring towns and villages, and gather together by torch-light in a field where the saint used to preach. Whilst his sermon was going on, all the shopkeepers closed their shops and went with their families to listen to the saint. When he had finished speaking, he was in great danger of being suffocated by the crowd, each one anxious to touch the hem of his robe. And Anthony was only one of a great number of such preachers, of most of whom we have now no trace. Berthold of Ratisbon is perhaps the most famous, for many of his sermons have survived and not only provide a great insight into the methods of the Franciscan preachers, but constitute, by virtue of their grace and fervour, one of the treasures of early German literature. In them we find the Christian story retold with simplicity and splendour, with heaven and earth rendered in terms of principalities and powers, with God as the eternal King, Christ as a young Prince, and the Virgin Mary as a Queen. Add to this naïvety a poetic conception of nature, of which

[1] Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1904, p. 568.

St. Francis himself was the originator, and in which all living things and even the stars in the sky were admitted into a relationship of love, and we get that spirit of natural piety which is the distinctive outcome of the whole movement. It had, indeed, its lurid side; for if the delectable joys of heaven were painted with all the colours that an eloquent imagination could summon, the pains of hell were not treated with less justice, and the immense congregations listened awestruck to the ferocious details of the life of the damned.

The literature which this regeneration of sentiment inevitably called into being has two important aspects. In the first place, it gave rise in Italy to a body of popular poetry, written in the language of the people; and the beginnings of a national Italian literature are, as a matter of fact, to be sought as much in the early Franciscan poetry as in the influence of the Troubadours. Thode has well observed that "the curious mingling of sensual desire and spiritual resignation, which is the distinctive character of the Provençal songs, is absolutely unintelligible to the Italian. For him, love is either a sensible reality, or maybe a philosophical abstraction, but never a mixture of the two." One outcome of this temperamental distinction was the metaphysical poetry of Guido Guinicelli and Guido Cavalcanti, the subtle nature of which is far removed from the simplicity of St. Francis.

Jacopone da Todi's poetry is the greatest expression of the first aspect of Franciscan literature, and there is not too much in the claim that Jacopone is the real precursor of Dante, rather than Cavalcanti or Guinicelli. I must not hesitate, in this connection, to quote the very definite analysis of Jacopone's influence made by Thode, and the earlier and even more eloquent tribute of Ozanam.

"This sublime madman was one of the greatest of Italian poets. Of an ardent and passionate nature, always ready to flare up at the least provocation, he poured out his emotions and his dreams in a number of songs, which resounded sometimes like a mighty war-cry, sometimes like intoxicated words of love. The sweet harmony of his words, caught straight from the common people, made one forget whatever there still was of stiffness and restraint in the strict forms he used. Like a fresh torrent, he forced his way through the opposing rocks. The originality and the sincerity of it all seems wonderfully new and impressive. One also notices a play on words and a use of obvious rhymes, both derived from the Troubadours, whenever Jacopone attempts the grand manner. But the essential element of his poetry is its quite subjective character. Our interest is wholly taken up with his personal feelings, the struggles and victories of his own agitated soul, and these we live over again with him. From a conception of the world at first despairing, then profoundly melancholy, in which life appears merely as a great *danse macabre*, phœnix-like, there rises a longing, up towards the light of eternal love." [1]

Ozanam's treatment is more extensive [2]

[1] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[2] "Les Poètes Franciscains en Italie au treizième siècle," par. A.-F. Ozanam, chaps. iv and v (*Œuvres Complètes*, vol. v, 6th ed., Paris, 1882).

and should be read, not only for the humane character of its scholarship, but for its individual beauty. I will content myself with translating a few of his more relevant passages:

"Jacopone had a horror of the commonplace. He imitated nothing, unless perhaps the hymns of St. Francis and his first followers, and these he surpassed in the beauty and variety of his writings. He resorted no longer to the ancient and profane fountains of Parnassus, but to the source of tears, to the inexhaustible vein of sorrow and repentance. For him the art of poetry was not a pleasure, but a duty. The impetuosity of his feelings passed completely into his style, and gave it its scope. . . .

"As a theological poet Jacopone dared, the first among modern poets, to demand of Christian metaphysics, not only truths for the instruction of men, but beauties for their delight; not only lessons, but also songs. . . . As a satirist, Jacopone practised before Dante the censure of his age and country. . . . And finally, as a popular poet, Jacopone sang in the dialect of the Umbrian peasants. To this is due the prodigious inequality of his style, where we find side by side inspirations from the Bible, the formulas of the schools, something of the charm of the Troubadours, but much more of the rudeness of goatherds and woodcutters."

There are other poets who express with scarcely less force this literary aspect of the Franciscan movement. St. Francis himself, it must be remembered, was a poet, and so was St. Bonaventura, if we can attribute to him such poetry as the *Philomela*. Giacomino da Verona's poem, with its striking analogies to the *Divine Comedy*, has become famous since Ozanam rescued it from obscurity. The *Dies Irae*, attributed to Thomas de Celano, though in Latin, instantly became one of the most popular lyrics of all time.

The mention of Celano brings us to the second aspect of Franciscan literature, for Celano is the reputed author of one of the lives of St. Francis (as Bonaventura, with less likelihood, is the reputed author of another), and these lives of the founder of the order introduced into Christian literature a new approach to the Christian faith which was to have profound reactions on the plastic arts.

This was the re-relation of the Christian story in terms consonant with the prevalent naturalism and piety, and with the addition of much allegorical interpretation and explanatory gloss of an objective kind. Two books are mainly concerned. The first of these is the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*,[1] formerly ascribed to St. Bonaventura, and the second the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa.

The *Meditationes*, composed some few years before 1270, relates the life of Christ in terms curiously different from the bare narrative of the New Testament. A direct appeal is made to the reader; he is asked to imagine not merely the events of the story, but the picturesque *mise-en-scène*, the attitudes and expressions of the persons, and no opportunity is missed of introducing a "homely" detail which will create in the reader's mind an atmosphere of reality and naturalness. This may be

[1] Published by Peltier in the *Opera* of Bonaventura, vol. xii.

best realized by comparing an actual scene from the New Testament with the narrative of the *Meditationes*. We may take the Nativity, for example. St. Luke's account, which is the most detailed, is comprised in a few lines: "And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn."

Now contrast with this the detail of the *Meditationes*:

"But when the hour of delivery was come, about midnight of the Lord's day, Mary raised herself up and supported herself against a post that happened to be there; but Joseph remained seated, sad within himself, pondering perhaps on the hopelessness of procuring such things as were necessary. But at length he too arose, and put some hay in the manger, and strewed some at the feet of the Virgin and then drew apart once more; and it was then that the Son of God issued from his mother's womb.... And immediately the mother leaned over him, raised him up and embraced him, overcome by a sweet love; and she pressed him to her breast, then wrapped him in the veil from her head and laid him in the manger. Then the ox and the ass, bending their knees, put their muzzles over the side of the manger and breathed on the Child, as if they understood that a child so poorly clad, in such a cold place, had need of being warmed. And then the mother, having kneeled, prayed and said, rendering thanks to God: 'I thank thee, Lord and Father, that thou hast given me thy Son, and I beseech thee, Eternal Father, and thou the living God, who art my Son.' Joseph in his turn worshipped the Child in the same way, and then he took the saddle off the ass and unstrapped the woollen cushion and placed it near the manger, so that Mary could lie down there; and Mary lay down on this cushion and placed the saddle under her elbow; and thus she stayed, the mistress of the world, keeping her eyes fixed on the cradle with all her heart turned towards her cherished Son...."

It is not, however, quite fair to regard this detailed narrative merely as an expansion of the words of St. Luke. The proper contrast lies elsewhere, in earlier interpretations of the scene, for artists had always of necessity permitted themselves an imaginative rendering of sacred scenes. The Byzantine rendering is fully as detailed as this Humanistic one, but with a complete difference; and in this difference how clearly we see the contrasted values of the two epochs! Orcagna, in some of his works, is not free from the new influence; but the mosaic from Orvieto, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is probably from his design and may, in any case, be taken as a convenient example, shows the fullest development of the Byzantine tradition. Against a background of rich tapestry, embroidered with birds addorsed regardant, the Virgin reclines on a fair couch. On the right hand a maidservant is preparing cordials, whilst from the left another maidservant enters with food. In the foreground two nurses are washing the child Christ in a precious basin. All is dignity, splendour, and idealization—Christ, for example, is no helpless infant, but a sturdy and consciously intelligent child; whilst, as an utmost abandon to

the artifice of the mood, the artist has filled in a blank space of the tessellated floor with an irrelevant cat and dog fight! And yet Giotto's painting of the same scene in the chapel of the Madonna dell' Arena at Padua, which is some fifty years earlier in date, is almost a literal interpretation of the description we have quoted from the *Meditationes*. There is really no end to the amazement with which we bring these two representations into opposition; it is not as though we could resort to the concepts of individualistic art, and explain this difference as we might explain the difference that there is between, say, Puvis de Chavannes and Cézanne. We are rather dealing with typical embodiments of divergent traditions, and a final explanation of such contrasts involves us in wider questions of the psychology of these traditional attitudes.

The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine has been called a Gothic cathedral in words: it is the classical work of mediaeval Christian mythology, and had a far-reaching influence on the development of Christian iconography. Like the *Meditationes*, it is one outcome of the Franciscan spirit. It was compiled about the year 1275, partly from earlier works like those of St. Jerome and Eusebius, and partly from such legends as had been handed down either orally, or in manuscript. In addition to the lives of the saints it resumed the details of the main Christian festivals and explained their significance. It related the stories of the Bible, such as the history of Adam, and those of Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, and so on, down to those of Job, Tobit, and Judith —in fact, as Caxton has it, " all the high and great feasts of our Lord, the feasts of our Blessed Lady, the lives, passions, and miracles of many other saints, and other histories and acts." The whole formed a compendium of the Christian faith, arranged for liturgical use. The preface divides the ecclesiastical year into four periods corresponding to the various epochs of the world's history— a time of deviation, of renovation. of reconciliation, and of pilgrimage, but the book itself is in five sections, viz.: I. From Advent to Christmas; II. From Christmas to Septuagesima; III. From Septuagesima to Easter; IV. From Easter Day to the octave of Pentecost; V. From the octave of Pentecost to Advent.

The *Legend* was translated into French by Jehan de Vignay in the 14th century. As soon as printing was invented this book was one of the earliest to issue from the press. Caxton's English edition was based mainly on de Vignay's French translation, and was first published in 1483. But by that time, of course, the work had been in circulation for 200 years and its thoughts and images were part of the consciousness of all Christian people.

Caxton's version is one of the early monuments of English literature, comparable in its vigorous and picturesque style with Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, and not unworthy of being mentioned with Chaucer. But in point of style it is not consistently good, and it seems fairly

certain that Caxton himself is not responsible for the flowers of his text. He himself tells us that he had by him " a legend in French, another in Latin, and the third in English." But these " varied in many and divers places, and also many histories were comprised in the other two books which were not in the English book, and therefore I have written one out of the said three books, which I have ordered otherwise than the said English legend is." Mr. F. S. Ellis, in his edition of the *Golden Legend*,[1] suggests that the better passages are due to the earlier hand, and this seems likely. Special amendments were made in the Legend to suit the needs of English readers, the life of a national saint like St. Thomas of Canterbury being expanded to satisfy the popular craving for detail and romance. This particular life is one of the most beautiful of all in Caxton's version, and is undoubtedly, if Mr. Ellis's supposition be correct, from the earlier English legend. It makes comprehensible the fascination which this Saint's history had for the artists of the Middle Ages, and particularly for the glass-painters. The passage which describes the courtship of Thomas's parents is unrivalled for its quaint beauty and pathos.

" St. Thomas the martyr was son to Gilbert Becket, a burgess of the city of London, and was born in the place whereas now standeth the church called S. Thomas of Acre. And this Gilbert was a good devout man, and took the cross upon him, and went on pilgrimage into the Holy Land, and had a servant with him. And when he had accomplished his pilgrimage, he was taken homeward by the heathen men and brought into the prison of a prince named Amurath, where long time he and his fellowship suffered much pain and sorrow. And the prince had great affection towards this Gilbert, and had often communication with him of the christian faith, and of the realm of England, by which conversation it fortuned that the daughter of this prince had especial love unto this Gilbert, and was familiar with him. And on a time she disclosed her love to him, saying if he would promise to wed her she should forsake friends, heritage, and country, for his love and become christian, and after long communication between them he promised to wed her if she would become christian, and told her to her the place of his dwelling in England. And after, by the purveyance of God, the said Gilbert escaped and came home. And after this it fortuned so that this prince's daughter stole privily away, and passed many a wild place and great adventure, and by God's purveyance at last came to London demanding and crying Becket! Becket! for more English could she not; wherefore the people drew about her, what for the strange array of her, as for that they understood her not, and many a shrewd boy. So long she went till she came tofore Gilbert's door, and as she stood there, the servant that had been with Gilbert in prison which was named Richard, saw her and knew that it was she, and went in to his master, and told him how that this maid stood at his door; and anon he went out to see her. And as soon as she saw him she fell in a swoon for joy, and Gilbert took her up, and comforted her, and brought her into his house, and sith went to the bishops, which then were six at

[1] The Temple Classics, London, 1900, 7 vols.

Paul's, and rehearsed all the matter, and after they christened her, and forthwith wedded her unto Gilbert Becket, and within time reasonable and accustomed was brought forth between them a fair son named Thomas."

The lives of other English or Irish saints, such as those of St. Brandon and St. Cuthbert, betray the same lyrical transport. The life of St. Brandon, indeed, cannot be mentioned indifferently; as it stands in Caxton's book, it is one of the most beautiful poems in our language, full of a faery wonder and simplicity. It is a quality that belongs almost exclusively to the 15th century, being the first premonition of that paganism which is the essential spirit of the full Renaissance. It enters rarely into the art of stained glass: its mystical aspects are reflected from the *Pryck of Conscience* of Richard Rolle in the window showing the last fifteen days of the world in All Saints Church, York; and there is a suggestion of it in the work of John Prudde,[1] especially at Warwick, where Christ is strangely crowned with thorns that are like stags' antlers, and the feathered angels are like St. Brandon's birds, that had once been angels in heaven. "The number of them was so great, and they sang so merrily that it was a heavenly noise to hear, wherefore S. Brandon kneeled down on his knees and wept for joy, and made his prayers devoutly to our Lord God to know what these birds meant."

The new spirit of Franciscan naturalism only manifested itself in plastic art by slow degrees. Thode remarks that Niccolò Pisano, whilst creating new forms inspired by the antique, still follows the old mannerisms in the arrangement of his figures, and only reveals his genius for composition in certain minor details. "Even the strong genius of Cimabue did not succeed in breaking the Byzantine mould, but was satisfied in giving to it a quite fresh and vigorous impulse. It was left to Giotto and to Giovanni Pisano to carry into the sphere of art the new religious conceptions of the Franciscan poets and preachers."[2]

It is interesting to follow out in detail the growth of this influence on the development of Christian art, and this has been done in some detail by Thode, in the book from which I have quoted, and by other writers, such as Hettner and Mâle.[3]

§ 2

BUT WE MUST NOW TURN TO the effect which this new spirit had upon the style and design in English art of this period. And it is at this point that we must emphasize the most significant form which the Franciscan spirit assumed

[1] For an account of Prudde's work see later, pp. 103 and 113.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 460.

[3] H. Hettner, "Die Franziskaner in der Kunstgeschichte" (*Kleine Schriften*, Brunswick, 1884).

E. Mâle (1) *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France; étude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris, 1898, 3rd ed., 1910); (2) *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France; étude sur ses sources d'inspiration* (Paris, 1908, 2nd ed., 1922); (3) *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France; études sur les origines de l'iconographie du moyen âge* (Paris, 1922).

in art—I mean, a fidelity to the forms of nature divorced from all tendency towards abstraction. Thode, again, has seized the essential character of this change:

"... The vital force of this Tuscan art, stirred to expression by St. Francis, consisted in a strong individual feeling for nature, of an absolutely independent and spontaneous nature. The contribution of ancient classical art is confined to a merely formal guidance and to a practical teaching. And so it came about inevitably that the influence of ancient art made itself felt above all in architecture, in which the formal and practical element has a quite outstanding significance, whilst at the same time this influence of the antique was felt much less in sculpture, and was almost negligible in painting. In their need for instruction the masters of the infancy of modern art, Niccolò Pisano and his contemporaries, turned for counsel to the monuments of antique art; but they only sought there a language that would serve the need of expression of which they were conscious. Giotto, however, who may be taken as determining in this matter the further development of the XIV century, with his keen discernment of what was needed, entirely comes round to the direct observation of nature; and, at a time when architecture was readily borrowing its forms from the Antique, this observation of nature takes on a new impetus in the graphic arts, and lends to these their independent and peculiar character. Sculptors and painters may, it is true, in particulars be indebted to antique models for many an important hint—for example, the necessity of a careful study of the nude, as also the possibility of definite stylistic forms of presentation—and although they may often come under the spell of the universal humanistic inspiration, yet in general they followed untroubled in the path prescribed in the XIII century until the supreme object which they pursued was attained in the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. And it is from St. Francis that the principle is derived which belongs in common to the whole of this artistic development—the union of religion and nature in the same embracing idea. Not that he should, for that reason, be proclaimed as the real initiator of the new Christian art; but it is certain that he and his order, in deepening the content of the Christian faith, in expressing it in perceptible images, in giving it a popular form, provided Christian art with one of the main conditions of its existence." [1]

Man was once more in harmony with the world about him, and the most obvious aspect of this new confidence is seen in the transformation of Christian iconography. In general, for pictorial art, the procedure was that followed by the author of the *Meditationes*: the events depicted were given a contemporary setting. For his figures, his costumes, and his architecture the painter looked around him and found models before his eyes. But although this new art is naturalistic, full of feeling, sympathetic, and essentially human, yet it is never sentimental. It is saved from that now familiar degradation by its consistent realism. If we take the typical symbol of Christianity, Christ on the Cross, we shall see in the most intimate and memorable way how the new type differed from the

[1] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

old. It differed, of course, in the first place, by the new incidence given to its cult; the Crucifix was only raised to its special and particular significance by the early Franciscans. Formerly it had indeed been constantly used as the symbol of supreme sacrifice; but Christ on the Cross was a sublime God, powerful in dignity and formal in beauty. The type of realism which early Gothic art could express was a realism more awesome because of its inhuman calm; and this calm was the effect of the severely formal discipline to which the Gothic artist submitted his emotions. The bronze crucifix at Werden on the Ruhr[1] is a supreme example of this abstract realism. But the realism that now supervened renounced this discipline of form and submitted instead to the discipline of naturalness. One brutal nail suffices to fix Christ's feet and the body on this pivot lurches to one side with the burden of its own weight; and Christ, no longer transfigured into Godhead, is just a dead man, with agonized features drooping over a tortured frame. When the influence of Hellenic art once more made itself felt and became united with this Gothic naturalism, the extreme realism was modified in the interests of the ancient concept of ideal beauty. But that merely illustrates a general tendency with which we shall deal later.

Professor Bréhier has traced the course of the penetration of this new iconography through Europe, and though we cannot follow this course in detail, it does concern us to notice the time it took to become established. It was only in the second half of the 14th century that the general aspect of Christian iconography found itself modified. It took more than a hundred years to break down the strong traditions established by formal Gothic art. Its general influence only penetrated to England during the 14th century; and that is why, although we trace its origin so far back, we give the period we are dealing with in this chapter an arbitrary beginning at the year 1350. For that year, too, marks a decimation of all talent in the great catastrophe of the Black Death, and the new generations that slowly emerged from that tragedy were free of all traditions and impelled only by the living spirit of humanism.

§ 3

WE NOTICED AS A CHARACTERistic of the first or early Gothic period of stained glass in England that it prolonged its full mannerisms right into the very midst of the new naturalistic style. The new motives, like the ivy in which they were so often embodied, seemed to grow round the old conventions, without in any way becoming a part of them, nor yet entirely supplanting them. The new style was a decorative style; and for that reason there is some appropriateness in the term "Decorated," which is often applied to the years 1280-1380. Only it should be remembered, as a complement

[1] Illustrated by Erwin Panofsky, *Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1924, Pls. 11 and 12.

to the word decorated, that another style of art, underlying the decoration, still remained, in much of its old vigour and with all its old remoteness.

But gradually the rigid demarcation of styles gave way: the formal division into medallions disappeared. The figures still retained the elements of a more conventional style, and the naturalistic impulse found its fullest expression in the border devices, which generally take the form of a stem from which spring leaves, berries, and fruits at even intervals running up the sides of the light. This style, in its earliest and simplest form, is seen in the Annunciation from St. Frideswide's Chapel, Christ Church, Oxford, a light of which is illustrated in Fig. 4. The date of this window is round about 1350, and we now notice a new sense of colour values. The earliest influences of naturalism had expressed themselves with a modesty of colour in keeping with their Franciscan origin; but when this influence began to mould the general style of stained-glass design, of which the essence is colour, it expressed itself in a feeling for freshness of effect, mainly secured by the skilful use of white glass. The 13th century, especially in France, had ended in a depressing monotony of red and blue, producing, when arranged in diaper, an almost irritating effect. But now this effect disappeared entirely: ruby and blue are distributed against silvery white; the blue itself becomes more luminous and silvery, and a fresh green is introduced to form an excellent contrast to a golden yellow. But more important than such counterchanges was the discovery, very early in the 14th century, of the technique known as silver-yellow stain. It was found that a silver nitrate, which could be easily applied to the white glass, would on firing fuse with the surface of the glass and produce a beautiful golden translucent stain. The effect on the development of the art was immediate and far-reaching. At first (as at Eaton Bishop, one of the earliest examples of the use of silver-yellow stain in England) the stain was merely employed as a substitute for yellow pot-metal; but it gradually assumed all manner of subtleties,[1] and eventually dominated the whole technique of glass-painting, reaching a final height of meretriciousness in the 15th century window at Winscombe, Somerset, which is executed entirely in yellow stain (Fig. 25).

The increased use of white glass accompanies the use of yellow stain, and is to some degree an effect of this use. A whitish glass had been used in fair quantity during the 12th century, and, indeed, in some of the figures of prophets at Canterbury the composition is even overloaded with white. But the 13th century had almost entirely renounced it, finding, no doubt, that it was ill adapted, even as a foil, to the full

[1] The quarries which surround the harpy in Pl. 18 show an early and very exceptional use of silver-stain; these square-set quarries with rosette-designs seem to be a transitional stage between the chequered diapers of red and blue pot-metal so typical of the 13th century (especially in France) and the later lozenge-set quarries so typical of the 15th and 16th centuries (*cf.* tail-piece, p. 226).

22. YORK—St. Martin, Coney Street. SAINT MARTIN PROTECTING A HARE. *About 1437*

harmonies of ruby and blue to which they were addicted. But yellow stain made white glass once more a necessity,

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FIG. 4

and no doubt this stimulated its economic production—for we must never forget, when we are dealing with questions of colour, that there is always an economic problem of supply and demand underlying, and to some extent determining, the aesthetic aspect. But other causes co-operated in this revival of the use of white glass: one was the growing instinct for line design, as witnessed in the naturalistic plant-motives we have already mentioned. A clear white ground was needed for the display of such brush-work. But when once the use of white glass had come about, its aesthetic value was realized and exploited. By subduing the tone-values of the stronger colours—particularly red and blue—it was discovered that a white ground served all the purposes of a foil, separating and enhancing the brilliancy of the major colours. It may be also that the resultant effect on the lighting of the building was appreciated, and that the glass-painters began consciously to aim at a clearer effect. It is true also that architectural developments kept pace with, and some would even say determined, this opening-up of colour. That is to say, the windows as they became wider and higher and more intricate, demanded of the stained glass painter an effect that was not too heavy for the expanse to be filled, or too clumsy for its delicacy. But whether this development in architecture was a cause or an effect of the development in stained glass is quite an open question. Even architects have recognized this and Fergusson, in a passage on the Perpendicular style in his *Handbook of Architecture* (which I quote in full here because it has bearings on the criticism of 15th century art in general, to which I shall revert) says: [1]

"The misfortune of the Perpendicular style was that it fell on evil days. Used as it was at first, or as it might in a better age have become, it may be considered nearly as the perfection of tracery. It

[1] James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London, 2nd ed., 1859), quoted by Westlake, vol. iii, p. 4.

possessed, however, within itself a fatal facility which brought down the art to the meanest capacity, and afforded no scope or exercise for the highest intellects. The tendency of the age was for the greatest possible effect at the least possible expense; hence the perpendicular tracery soon became prosaic to the last degree, and utterly unworthy either of its predecessors or of its own capabilities. *Like all tracery, it was merely a framework, subordinate to the painted glass which filled the windows.* In attempting to judge of its propriety or beauty, it is always necessary to bear this in mind. It may sometimes look cold and inartistic now, but when the stained glass was perfect, the case must have been widely different."

The aesthetic triumph of this extensive use of white glass is undoubtedly the east window of Gloucester Cathedral, and the peculiar problems presented by this window are really no contradiction to Fergusson's hypothesis. The difficulty is, that this glass, which we must date almost definitely between the years 1350 and 1360[1] is contained in, and obviously designed for, a window in the full Perpendicular style. There can be no question that the glass must date the architecture; this being so, we have in this east window the first example of the Perpendicular style; and from all appearances it seems that the glass-design has determined the window-design. For the stained glass is within a regular development, and a development that, on its grand scale, required just such a sudden urge in architecture as this window reveals. Whatever the manner of its genesis, the result is sublime. This wide radiant triptych, gleaming rather like crystals of snow than flames of fire, is one of the most convincing of all the monuments of English art. It triumphs perhaps more on account of its colour than its design; yet even the design is aesthetically satisfying. The conception is a commonplace of the period,[2] yet is carried out with due regard to spacing and distance, to colour values and unity of design, and for these reasons is finally much more impressive than the later east window at York, which has a more immediate charm of colour but no arresting unity.

We must now turn to the more minute particulars of style in this period; and first to the quality of line. "About 1360 or 1370 [writes Winston[3]] a remarkable

[1] Westlake gives 1360 (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 40); but Winston (*Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass-painting*, p. 307 (London, 1865), thought it might be as early as 1350. Mr. G. McN. Rushforth agrees with Winston (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, vol. xliv, pp. 293, 296).

[2] "The subject . . . is the Coronation of the Virgin; for though we have only tiers of isolated figures, we must conceive of the whole as a single composition in which that medieval symbol of the consummation of the drama of Incarnation and Redemption—the enthronement of Mary as Queen of Heaven, is attended by the apostles and saints of the Church in glory, as well as by the founders and most eminent representatives of the Abbey of Gloucester. In principle, though the form is somewhat different, the subject and its treatment is the same as that of such well-known pictures as the almost contemporary triptych in the National Gallery, which goes under the name of Orcagna, and the later versions of the theme by Fra Angelico in the Louvre and Fra Filippo Lippi in the Accademia at Florence, not to speak of many other works" (G. McN. Rushforth, *loc. cit.*, pp. 296-7).

[3] *Memoirs*, p. 245. Quoted without acknowledgement by Westlake, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 41.

change took place in the manufacture of the glass, and this was simultaneous with a great change in the mode of painting it. As late as 1350, there was little

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FIG. 5

deviation from the earliest mode of painting; black lines represented the deep shadows, and a very slight wash of enamel work indicated the shadow in half-tint. But after this the lines diminished in thickness and intensity, and were retained only as outlines; the deep as well as the light shadows being represented as a stippled coat of enamel brown." I have already suggested that this change is but an aspect of the growing naturalistic spirit: the gross line, effective enough in conventional forms, is quite inapt for the delicate forms of life. The whole difference will be seen by a comparison of actual examples: contrast, for instance, the symmetrical designs in the 13th century borders from Canterbury (Figs. 1 and 2) with the lively tendrils and leaves of the border of the panel at Christ Church, Oxford (Fig. 4); or again, trace the gradual evolution of line in the human features, as seen first in the face of the prophet at Canterbury (Frontispiece), and then in the figure of Adam (Pl. 6), and so through the following centuries until we reach the ethereal brushwork of the 15th century glass-painter at Bledington (Pl. 40) and Battlefield (Fig. 18). In fact, the development of figure drawing from the beginning of the 14th century and onwards to the middle of the 16th century is so gradual and so natural that no subdivision of styles is possible. Once the tendency towards naturalism had set in, there was no stop in its even evolution until the full cycle had been completed: at one end dynamic abstraction, at the other the most literal imitation.

But between abstraction and imitation there is a stage which, at its finest, is an idealization of the actual: a creation of perfect—but of perfectly human—types. This is the art of sentiment, of human feeling seeking its ideal expression, exalting the actual, and endowing the common light of day with something of the magic of the Land of Behest. The Virgin (as in Pl. 28) is still innocent and wonderful, a creature apart from the soil of existence. A hundred years later she was to become a human mother, still exalted, but by association rather than in representation.

If we are asked to indicate in detail the signs of this quality of sentiment, of ideal emotion, we must point to the playful freedom of line that gradually developed. As the brush-stroke grew lighter, it grew easier. The features are rendered with more grace and verve; there is almost an excess of curve and curl in eyes and lips and locks. An individualization of the features begins to creep in: we begin to feel the presence of real people, friends and contemporaries of the glass-painter, no longer abstracted, and, as time went on, no longer idealized. The folds of the garments lose their angular restlessness and sweep and sway in animated curves. We get, too, the entry of fashion. The garments in the 12th and 13th centuries are formal and of classical derivation, except in so far as they are ecclesiastical or military. They continue to be somewhat non-committal during the first half of the 14th century, but with the growth of naturalistic treatment and the revival of figure-subjects we get the unmistakable evidences of contemporary fashions. The representation of costume then becomes a matter of course, and is of great assistance in the precise dating of stained glass. Even the figures of Christ and the Virgin bear these worldly evidences; a 15th century panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows an enthroned Virgin wearing a robe with bell-shaped cuffs of about 1410 (Pl. 29).

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FIG. 6

But the most typical and expressive development of ornament is seen in the canopy. This form of architectural ornament no doubt originated in the 12th century, when an architectural unit—generally an arch—was introduced

to indicate a building or interior scene. This simple unit became more elaborate during the 13th century, but remained essentially illustrative in intention (see Pl. 5). Then we get as an early characteristic of the 14th century, the elaboration of this detail into purely ornamental features. The architecture is given the value of pure decoration. At first this is rendered in one dimension, and slender pillars and fretted pinnacles, interchanged in colour, form a simple and effective setting for the figures within the framework (Pl. 12). But as the architecture itself becomes more elaborate, its representation in the glass develops (Pl. 21). By the end of the 14th century—for example, in the work of Thomas of Oxford—we find an elaborate use of perspective. In the 15th century the spirit of play breaks out even here, and the niches are peopled with angels and coy minstrels (Pl. 52). As the century advances the canopies grow more complex, though more representational and therefore perhaps not so confusing. Westlake remarks [1] that:

"When we come to the glass of this period, the distinction in form is not so immediately marked as it is in colour; the shafting of the canopy work is, perhaps, generally broader, and has more attempted perspective in its detail. The architectural details, however, gradually assume the same features as the stonework, especially after the middle of the century. In the late perpendicular glass, the number of pinnaclets, etc., which surmount the canopies, give the heads of the lights a pretty and animated appearance. An important characteristic is the increased use of white; in fact, many windows are, in effect, little else than white or grisaille, with some dominant spots of colour, and this colour is often lower in tone and greyer than in the preceding styles, whilst the white glass is really whiter, and more delicately covered."

With this development of the architectural features of stained glass ornament is perhaps bound up a curious retrogression during the 15th century—the abandonment of natural plant motives for stylized diapers. It may be that a naturalistic rendering of plant motives had no place in such formal stonework, or it may be that the glass-painters, in common with other craftsmen of the time, lost the desire and capacity for the close study of natural objects which the 14th century style had involved; in any case they forsook the carefully observed ivy, oak, and vine, and introduced instead such dreary motives as that usually described as the "seaweed pattern"—an elongated, shapelessly indented leaf, generally painted in reserve on a blue or ruby glass, and seemingly kept as "stock" to be used whenever the design required an indeterminate background (*cf.* Pl. 27 and Fig. 10). It was a step towards that still more slipshod expedient—the stencilled diaper background of the 16th century.

The borders, which had always been an integral part of stained-glass design, develop in conformity with the general trend. But their aesthetic function becomes less obvious and they gradually lose decorative value. In the 12th

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 4.

century the border had been the essential framework of the design, enclosing within its definite pattern the otherwise unconfined design. In the 13th century the border existed as a foil for the sequence of separate designs. Then, in the 14th century, when the subject-panel became isolated from its background, the border became a purely decorative feature, contributing a separate unit to the general aesthetic effect: in the 12th century the border framed the design—in the 14th it edged the frame of stonework, its naturalistic form suiting this purpose admirably. Then in the 15th century, with its strange efflorescence of canopy work, the border tended to lose all aesthetic justification: it existed merely as a strip dividing the design from the stonework, and providing, as it were, a transition from one to the other. In this rôle it naturally tended to become more formal in character. Already in the 14th century the typical border of creeping foliage had been varied with alternations of devices such as crowns, chalices, heraldic badges, grotesque animals, small figures of angels, and so on; an exceptional example is to be seen in the famous Bellfounders' Window in the north aisle of the nave, York Minster, where the border consists of bells (outer lights) and musical monkeys (centre light). In general, in the 15th century the border degenerates to a mere continuation of the canopy work, until finally it disappears altogether.

The development of colour during this period is by no means uniform and it is difficult to generalize about it. If the glass-painters had had unlimited supplies at their disposal, some general tendencies might be discerned. But they were always at the mercy of economic conditions and technical difficulties.[1] It is possible, however, that during the 14th century Franciscan influences favoured the abandonment of colour. In the rules[2] laid down by Bonaventura in 1260 for the construction of churches we find a definite precept against stained-glass windows, though the precept was probably directed more against idolatry than against colour as such. It reads:

"Vitrine quoque historiate vel picturate de cetero nusquam fiant, excepto quod in principali vitrea post majus altare possint haberi imagines Crucifixi, B. Virginis, B. Francisci et B. Antonii."

("In no part shall windows be made ornamented with figures or stories, with the exception of the principal window, behind the chief altar, which may contain images of Christ on the Cross, the Virgin, St. Francis, and St. Anthony.")

The full impact of this ordinance would no doubt be felt in England during the 14th century, and it is precisely at this period that the colours are restricted. But evidence exists to show that economic factors were equally at work during this period. The English glass-houses were behind the times and their material was not only restricted in range of

[1] *Cf.* John A. Knowles, "The Source of the Coloured Glass used in Mediaeval Stained Glass Windows" (*Glass*, March 1926).

[2] Statuta capituli generalis Narbonensis. Quoted by Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

23. YORK—All Saints, North Street. SAINT ANNE TEACHING THE VIRGIN. *About 1440*

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colours, but poor in quality. The covenants for the execution of the glass in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, specifically provide for glazing the windows

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FIG. 7

" with Glasse beyond the Seas, and with no Glasse of England; and that in the finest wise, with the best, cleanest, and strongest glasse of beyond the Sea that may be had in England. . . . "[1]

But whatever the technical difficulties the 15th century brings with it the complete recovery of the sense of colour, and often resort was made to the glass-houses of the Continent to satisfy this sense. The results are incomparable. Already in 1408 John Thornton's tones at York are full of vitality and gaiety, but by 1447, the date of Prudde's work at Warwick (Pls. 34 and 35), the colours, jewelled and counterchanged to the utmost limits of ingenuity, blaze almost with an excess of richness. The contract actually discouraged the use of white glass, but white was one more colour to Prudde, and he did not hesitate to make good use of it.

This is the zenith of colour: the 13th century had shown more limited and more harmonious, aesthetically more satisfying schemes; the 14th century developed the quieter harmonies of grisaille and yellow stain; but to the 15th century we owe the fully versatile exploitation of the aesthetic possibilities of colour. To later ages we owe its sophistication.

§ 4

WE MUST NOTE THE DEVELOPment of one more decorative detail through this period, and then we have done: I refer to the use of heraldry in glass. In so far as this is the development of heraldic design, it may be left to heraldic scholars. But as an element of stained-glass design, the subject deserves attention. We have practically no knowledge or records of the use of heraldry in stained-glass windows previous to the 14th century, though there are three 13th century shields in the apse windows of Westminster Abbey (those of Henry III, of his wife, Eleanor of Provence, and of Richard of Cornwall, his brother) which serve to indicate an early use of heraldic glass. We know from records that these shields were originally placed in the ground storey windows, which were of grisaille; and at Westminster, as

[1] The full covenants are given by Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, ed. 1656, p. 354, and are quoted by Winston, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 317.

in similar windows at Salisbury, of which fragments remain, the scheme probably consisted of a grisaille window each light of which was relieved by two shields set one above the other. But the particular circumstances which brought heraldic glass into general use are hardly consistent with the spirit of early Gothic art. One of the characteristics of the 14th century is the introduction of the personal element into the windows; donors began to desire their portraits within the design of their window (Pl. 26); memorials to the immediate dead began to assume a representational form. At first no attempt at faithful portrayal could be attempted: the mode and technique of glass-painting at that time forbade it. The shield of arms had therefore the very definite use of identification. The knights at Tewkesbury (Pl. 18) are, apart from their heraldry, mere stock patterns of a knight, probably all executed from the same cartoon. And this is one of the earliest extant instances of a general schematic use of heraldry in English glass. Gloucester comes next and marks, if anything, a more purely aesthetic use of the elements provided by the herald (Pl. 19). Once the aesthetic value of heraldry was realized, its use multiplied: the material proved especially suitable to the rendering of the formal patterns of the shields, and the brilliancy doubly attractive in this personal emblem. The ground of the shield, which was usually filled in with a diaper pattern, gave the glass-painter an opportunity to exercise his skill in brushwork and fertility in the invention of decorative motives (as in Fig. 5). The technique of scratching a design with a point through a dense ground of colour, always a pleasant technique in glass-painting, was encouraged by this development (Fig. 7). The glass-painter kept pace with the herald, and did not hesitate to attempt the utmost elaboration of curved shield and exuberant mantling, as in the magnificent examples of about 1450 at Ockwells Manor (Pl. 46). There the shields, which bear the arms of various friends of Sir John Norreys, who built the Manor, fall into two groups: those with straight vertical sides and no mantling, but enormous crests or ensigns; and those in which the shield is fantastically contorted and accompanied by flamboyant mantling. All are set in grisaille quarries painted with diagonal mottoes (which read: "Feyth fully Serve," "Dieu et mon Droit," and "Humble et Loiall") and with the badge of three golden distaffs, one in pale, two in saltire, banded with a golden ribbon. This seems to be the badge of the Royal Wardrobe, to which the Norreys family had often belonged. A full description of the heraldry has been given by Mr. Everard Green ("The Identification of the Eighteen Worthies commemorated in the Heraldic Glass in the Hall Windows of Ockwells Manor House, in the Parish of Bray, in Berkshire." By Everard Green, Rouge Dragon. *Archaeologia*, vol. lvi (1899), p. 323). As to its origin there has been much dispute, but in Mr. Knowles's opinion[1] the shields are "typical of the

[1] See *infra*, p. 113.

London school of design" and probably the work of John Prudde. On the evidence of the heraldry, the date of the glass "must be during the second

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FIG. 8

marriage of Sir John Norreys, at a time when a daughter by the first wife had already married. The first wife was living in 1448, so that we shall probably not be far wrong in assigning the glass to the years between 1455 and 1460—the first years of the Wars of the Roses, while Henry VI was still King."[1]

With the Renaissance (if we may anticipate for a moment) heraldic glass took on a more restrained appearance (*cf.* Pls. 55 and 63), due perhaps to the common use of the garter and wreath in heraldry, and perhaps to a greater extent to the more domestic destination of the glass, which required a small confined design to set in the midst of a window otherwise clear. But fine effects of mantling were still possible in the 16th century (compare, for example, the shield of Edward Lucas, dated 1582, in the Victoria and Albert Museum), and with the development of enamel painting in the 17th and 18th centuries, no limits of design were any longer demanded by aesthetic considerations.

§ 5

WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED AS one of the characteristics of the 15th century a growing individuality in the design of stained-glass windows. This is, of course, a characteristic of the development of European art in general, and is but one more consequence of that revolution of sentiment which we have analysed in some detail. Art was still religious in sentiment, and subordinated to a common purpose. But the artist was conscious of his own personality, and of personality in others.

The *type*, formulated by reason, is gradually replaced by the *unit*, the object of direct observation. Realism takes the place of abstraction or idealization.

The consequence is that now again the experience of the artist is a quality of his work. His work is therefore individual. But all individuals are not capable of expressing themselves in adequate terms; their will or their talent is insufficient. It follows that an artist of unusual originality formulates a style and the weaker talents about him group themselves round him and either consciously or unconsciously imitate his manner.

[1] *Country Life*, vol. lv (1924), p. 97. Article on "Ockwells Manor," by Christopher Hussey.

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FIG. 9

In this way we get the phenomenon of "schools"—a distinct style established as a local tradition and sometimes persisting over two or three generations. Now anyone who begins the study of stained glass is quickly made aware of affinities and peculiarities which lend themselves to a common definition; but the material is so scanty, so scattered, and so difficult of comparison that definite conclusions are difficult to establish. Any exact work in this direction must await the publication of a complete corpus of all the important stained glass remains in England—a task of urgent necessity (in view of the fragility of the material) and of national importance (for it would serve to establish the wide range and splendid originality of native art). Meanwhile one can only make tentative suggestions.

Westlake made some attempt to differentiate schools, but without any clear perception of what he meant by a "school." One cannot, in the sense in which we have approached the subject, speak with any meaning of 13th or 14th century schools: the mere lack of material

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FIG. 10

evidence forbids it. And though in the 14th century we can point to definite local peculiarities, such as the range of colours at Wells, there is really next to nothing to group round such a centre. But with the beginning of the 15th century the case is different: individuality becomes apparent and examples are not entirely unique.

Westlake suggested schools at Coventry, York, Northampton, Bristol, Wells, Winchester, and Kent (Canterbury or Dover).

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FIG. 11

To these we must perhaps add Oxford, Lincoln, Norwich, and Westminster. But when we are asked to describe the attributes of these schools, we must hesitate. The evidence in favour of the existence of schools at Northampton, Canterbury (or Dover—but why Dover?), and Lincoln seems to rest entirely on local distribution. Glass exists or seems to have existed in clusters round about these centres. But the evidence in favour of the other schools is more substantial, and authentic examples of their work may be identified with certainty. For Coventry we have the signed work of John Thornton in the east window of York Minster, and round this we may group some of the glass at St. Michael's, Coventry, and possibly other remains in various parts of the country. The glass at St. Mary's Hall, Coventry (Pl. 51), must, however, be dissociated from the work of John Thornton. On stylistic grounds it must be considerably later in date, and the character of the backgrounds, with their canopies and

Ph. Wm. M. Dodson

FIG. 12

curtains, and the extensive use of "jewelled" glass, suggests the Westminster school of the last thirty years of the century.

The east window in York Minster must

have exercised a considerable influence on the local glass-painters, for Thornton's individual style, as noticed by Westlake, is clearly perceptible in the subsequent glass at York—in the St. William[1] (Pls. 31

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FIG. 13

and 32) and St. Cuthbert windows, for example. But the York school soon settled down to its own peculiarities, and it became undoubtedly the most productive school in England, and examples are found distributed over a wide area.[2] The characteristics of this school are generally unmistakable, as will be seen from a comparison of Pls. 23, 31 to 33, 36, 50, and Figs. 13 to 16. Besides the similarities of technique and actual details of design, there is a certain "sweetness" or pathos, bordering on sentimentality, which all these works have in common. The grimness of Pl. 49 is perhaps in contradiction to the prevailing mood, but really represents, from another point of view, the same intensity of religious feeling.

There is no documentary evidence for the so-called Bristol style, but its individuality is well illustrated in the fragment from St. Mary Redcliffe shown in Fig. 19, and other examples are to be seen in many of the churches of Somersetshire (Pl. 41) and the neighbouring counties. We are perhaps here concerned with the identified style of one particular artist, rather than with the style of a school, but the fine brushwork and masterly characterization of this style are unmistakable. The evidence for the Oxford school is very definite: the only question is whether this school includes the Winchester school as suggested by Westlake. So far as I can see it does, though the apparent unity of this school is perhaps due mainly to the activities of William of Wykeham. The glass at Winchester College Chapel shows in the 1822 copy (which we know to be very faithful to the original) a small figure of the glazier, with a scroll inscribed "Thomas operator istius vitri,"

[1] But this window may, in the opinion of Mr. Knowles, actually be the late work of Thornton himself. See *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser, vol. viii, p. 171.

[2] See also J. A. Knowles, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, vol. xxix, 1923 (the York Congress).

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FIG. 14

and it seems possible to identify[1] this Thomas with a certain Thomas de Dadington, one of the glaziers mentioned in the Roll for the glazing of the windows of St. Stephen's Chapel in 1352. This glazier was afterwards engaged in the windows for the chapel at Windsor, and there he would come to the notice of Wykeham, who was appointed surveyor of the works at Windsor in 1356. Mr. Powell, in the article referred to, suggests that Thomas of Dadington was probably a native of Deddington, an important village a few miles north of Oxford, and that from Oxford he executed the various works which can be assigned to him. Mr. Le Couteur, in his book on the glass at Winchester,[2] has no hesitation in ascribing the windows at Oxford and Winchester to a common painter. Speaking of the west window at Winchester Cathedral, he says:

"From the style of the canopies that remain, together with the fragments of figures and other recognizable features, such as the groined vaults of the canopies with their coloured central bosses, the wavy scrolls held by some of the figures, and the general resemblance of the workmanship, this glass appears to be an early production by the same artist who did so much work, both at New College and at Winchester College, for William of Wykeham."[3]

The evidence for a school at Norwich rests on the peculiarly individual character of the glass at St. Peter Mancroft (Pl. 44). The glass at East Harling seems to be by the same hand. The

[1] See "The picture-windows in the Ante-chapel, New College, Oxford," by Harry J. Powell, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. viii (1906), p. 326.

[2] John D. le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester*, Winchester, 1920.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

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FIG. 15

strangeness of this local school has led to the suggestion that it is of Flemish derivation, or at least under strong Flemish influence, like much other art in the Eastern Counties, but there does not seem to be anything specifically foreign in the Norwich glass. But the evidence for a school or schools situated in the Eastern Counties does not rest entirely on the case of Norwich; there are many other examples of a less accomplished kind, which are certainly of local origin.[1]

There remains London, where the situation is more complicated. We have early records of glass-painters or glaziers in connection with Westminster Abbey, and these have been summarized for us by Professor Lethaby.[2] The first mention of the King's Glazier occurs in Edward I's reign, for it is recorded that in 1290 John of Bristol was paid £64 for making windows in the church of Westminster.[3] "At the palace in 1307 Master William de Horkyle was the

[1] There is definite evidence at an early date of local glass-making and presumably of glass-painting, as at Colchester, where in 1295 and 1300 Robert le Verrer and Matthew le Verrer are cited as jurors. *Cf.* Alexander Nesbitt, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Glass Vessels in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1878, p. cxxxi.

[2] *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, by W. R. Lethaby, London, 1906; *Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, by the same author, London, 1925.

[3] *Archaeologia*, vol. xxix.

24. GREAT MALVERN PRIORY—South Aisle. GOD APPEARING TO ABRAM. *Middle of 15th century*

glazier. The glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel was undertaken in 1352 by John de Chester, John Athlard, John Lincoln, Hugh Lichfield, Symon de Lynne, and John Linton; all masters,

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FIG. 16

drawing and painting on 'White tables' [cartoons] for 1*s.* a day. Eleven others were painting the glass at 7*d.* a day; and fourteen were breaking and jointing the glass at 6*d.*" [1] Other glaziers recorded are Thomas Glaswryghte, 1355, and William Burgh, who filled the great window of Westminster Hall with "flourished glass" in the last year of Richard II, 1399. In 1433 John Prudde, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the glass at the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, was appointed to "the office of glazier of our works," to hold it "as Roger Gloucester" had held it, "with a shed called the glazier's lodge, standing upon the west side within our palace of Westminster." [2] Prudde is also named in the Eton accounts in 1445-6 as chief glazier to the king. About 1450 he supplied glass for Greenwich Palace, "flourished with marguerites, hawthorn buds, and daisies"—the flowers of Henry VI and his queen—and it has been suggested that he is probably the painter of the Jesse window at Margaretting,[3] Essex (Pl. 47), and of the heraldic glass at Ockwells Manor [4] (Pl. 46). I am also of the opinion that his workshop was responsible for the fine portraits of Edward IV, his Queen, and family in the north window at Canterbury (Pls. 53 and 54). There is no positive evidence on this point, but a comparison of this work with Prudde's windows in the Beauchamp Chapel (Pls. 34 and 35) is fairly conclusive on stylistic grounds. On the death of Henry VI, Prudde was succeeded by Thomas Bye, a citizen of London. Then, some time about 1500, Henry VII brought over from "Allmayne" a certain Barnard Flower, and made him King's Glazier, an office which had hitherto always been held by an Englishman.[5] Some account of Flower's work

[1] Lethaby, *op. cit.* (1906), pp. 302-3.

[2] *Cf.* Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture in the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 76.

[3] See Appendix A.

[4] See *Country Life*, vol. lv (1924), p. 183, letter from J. A. Knowles.

[5] *Cf.* John A. Knowles, "Disputes between English and Foreign Glass-painters in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Antiquaries Journal* (London, 1925), vol. v, p. 148.

and of its significance will be given in the next chapter.

Towards the end of the 15th century England suffered a general invasion of

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FIG. 17A

foreign artists and craftsmen, a growing influx that reached its culmination early in the next century with the arrival of Torrigiano and Holbein. In the Netherlands at this time the art of stained glass had reached a development which, in accomplishment and modernity, was far ahead of the insular style of the English glass-painters. No doubt these foreign glass-painters, out of their own exuberance, turned their thoughts to foreign lands. But in the case of England the economic condition of the country worked in their favour. The distribution of wealth was shifting: whilst the nobles and the churchmen were dissipating their energies in wasteful strife and dissensions, a new class of town merchants was springing into existence. It was an age of mercantile enterprise, and the wool and cloth trades flourished in spite of the wars. The new merchants, earnest Lollards as they were, were eager to turn their wealth to some good

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FIG. 17B

purpose, and thus they made the 15th century an age of church building and charitable foundations.[1] And these mer-

[1] *Cf.* C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England* (Oxford, 1925), *passim.*

chants, moreover, were men of some culture, whose business had brought them into contact with foreign luxuries—particularly those of the Netherlands.

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FIG. 18

When, therefore, they required glass for the beautifully furnished churches which they began to construct in various parts of the country, they demanded glass in keeping with their luxurious tastes, and for this they turned to the men from the Netherlands. In answer to the demand these men came across and, in accordance with the regulations, established themselves within a recognized sanctuary such as the liberty of St. Thomas in Southwark, and assumed English names. As time went on, they became a menace to the existence of the London Company or Guild of Glaziers, and a continual series of disputes between the Guild and the foreigners marks the beginning of the 16th century.[1] But the foreigners had come to stay and they are the leaven of the new ferment with which the next period in the history of English glass-painting begins.

But in England generally it was an age of intellectual ferment, and everywhere we can discern the first elements of a new consciousness. It was an age of transition, and has all the inconsequences and inconsistencies of such an age.

"The violence and disorder incidental to the breakdown of medievalism were but a superficial feature which confounded the politics and confused the chronicles of the time. Underneath it all there went on silently that steady growth of national consciousness which is the real quality of fifteenth-century England. The destruction of the old monarchy and the feudal nobility was only the crudest instance of a transformation which extended throughout the whole sphere of the nation's life. The political change which it helped to bring to pass was in truth no more than the instrument through which the greater intellectual and social forces were set to work."[2]

Education and refinement were widely spread, and there arose for the first time in England that desire for comfort and luxury of which the immediate and most considerable result was the creation of a domestic architecture. And with the

[1] See Mr. Knowles's article, already cited.

[2] Kingsford, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

growth of a refined domestic architecture we get the birth of English domestic glass-painting. The heraldic glass we have already noted is one aspect of this development; but more important and far more interesting are the painted roundels (Pls. 30, 42, and 43, and Fig. 8) of which we have so few survivals. Here the art of glass-painting is for the first time adapted to a secular purpose, and the resulting intimacy reveals the possibilities of charm in an art usually reserved for the sublime. In an age when we are no longer capable of the sublime, we might with profit try to recover this profaner grace.

§ 6

WE HAVE IN THIS CHAPTER followed the development of our art through a metamorphosis of which words can give no adequate account. In the last chapter I attempted to characterize the rational spirit which imbued the early Gothic art; and in this chapter I have attempted to describe the revolution to a more humanistic type of sentiment that took place during the 14th and 15th centuries. Before passing to the description of still another change of spirit, let us pause for a moment to estimate the final quality of this age of sentiment.

It is, in the first place, a romantic art. From the beginning of the 15th century we find for the first time the signed works of individual artists,[1] and as the century progresses the note of individuality grows stronger. And individualism, as we noted in the first chapter, is the compromising feature of romantic art. It implies an expression of the aesthetic impulse directed towards its own ends: an energy seeking to express itself com-

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FIG. 19

pletely in the unit of work in hand. How completely such expression differs from the subordination of units in Gothic art we need not stay to consider. Its practical effect is the free growth of naturalistic ornament. In architecture the clean spring of early Gothic becomes cumbered with irrelevant but gay ex-

[1] *E.g.*, the east window in York Minster, which, as we have already noted, bears the signature of John Thornton of Coventry. The inscription "Thomas operator istius vitri" on the Winchester College Chapel glass is a slightly earlier example.

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FIG. 20

crescences and dissipated into uneconomic channels. There is still beauty, but beauty of a different kind. It is the beauty of intimacy, which we must isolate for enjoyment, whereas in the 13th century nothing could be properly isolated. All contributed to the unity of effect, and each member was so much the less apart from this unity. Yet even in the last decades of the 15th century there is still beneath the mannerisms that dynamic rhythm which relates this art to its Gothic origins. It is for this reason, too, no doubt, that the historians have been able to delimit a baroque phase of Gothic, and there is something in its picturesque turbulence that does indeed foreshadow the appearance of that later style: there is the sense of movement, perhaps not transcendental, like the Gothic, nor " logical " like the Baroque, but at least aesthetic.

Psychologically this new spirit represents an attitude of quietude, of perfect faith in the affinity of all creation. The fact that in England especially the surface of life presented neither security nor peace, but only strife and bloodshed, does not contradict this assertion; we are concerned with something that lies deeper than dynastic or economic catastrophes: we are concerned with one of those slow changes of consciousness that are effected across centuries and involve civilizations rather than nationalities. Europe was casting off the dark incubus of northern fear: the expansive Mediterranean light was permeating and dispelling that mood of revulsion in which northern man had created his transcendental world of pure form and abstract reason. He now turned to a happier scene, a

more sensuous art, but at a certain cost. It is with a realization of this cost that Worringer closes his profound analysis of the psychology of northern art, and I cannot end this chapter with better words than his:

"Here ends the long development leading from the beginnings of linear ornament down to the swollen exuberance of late Gothic. Now the Renaissance begins—the great period of naturalism and of civic sentiment. All unnaturalness—the characteristic of all art activity conditioned by the urge to abstraction—disappears. With Gothic the last 'style' dies away. Whoever has felt in the least sensible of all that is expressed by this absence of naturalism will be aware of a great sadness in the midst of all his joy in the new possibilities of happiness created by the Renaissance. He will have a lasting consciousness of those great values, sanctioned by a tremendous tradition, which were forever lost through this triumph of the organic and the natural."

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FIG. 21

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R P.S.

25. EDGEWORTH, GLOS. FIGURE OF AN ARCHBISHOP *Second half of the 14th century.*

Ph. V. and A. Museum

26. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. A DONOR AND HIS WIFE; INSCRIBED "VILLMS CELE ET MATILDA UXOR EI." *Second half of the 14th century*

Ph. V. and A. Museum

27. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. THE ANGEL APPEARING TO THE SHEPHERDS.
Second half of the 14th century (see p. 99)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

28. ETTINGTON, WARWICK. Formerly in Winchester College Chapel. VIRGIN AND CHILD. *Painted by Thomas of Oxford, about 1400* (see p. 97)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

29. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. TRACERY LIGHT FROM A REPRESENTATION OF THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

Early 15th century (see pp. 98 and 108)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

30. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. ROUNDEL FROM A SERIES ILLUSTRATING THE LABOURS OF THE MONTHS : OCTOBER. *First half of the 15th century* (see p. 116)

Ph. J. A. Knowles, F.S A.

A. SAINT WILLIAM COMMUNES WITH THE HOLY GHOST

Ph. J. A. Knowles, F.S.A.

B. DETAIL : HEAD OF SAINT WILLIAM

31. YORK MINSTER—Saint William window. *About 1421* (see p. 108)

Ph. J. A. Knowles, F.S.A.

A. SAINT WILLIAM KINDLY RECEIVED BY THE KING OF SICILY

Ph. J. A. Knowles, F.S.A.

B. DETAIL, SHOWING THE HEAD OF THE KING OF SICILY

32. YORK MINSTER—Saint William window. *About 1421* (see p. 108)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

33. GREAT MALVERN PRIORY—East window. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. *First half of the 15th century* (see p. 234)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

34. WARWICK—The Beauchamp Chapel (East window). SAINT WINIFRED AND SAINT JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON. *By John Prudde of Westminster, about 1447* (see pp. 103 and 113)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

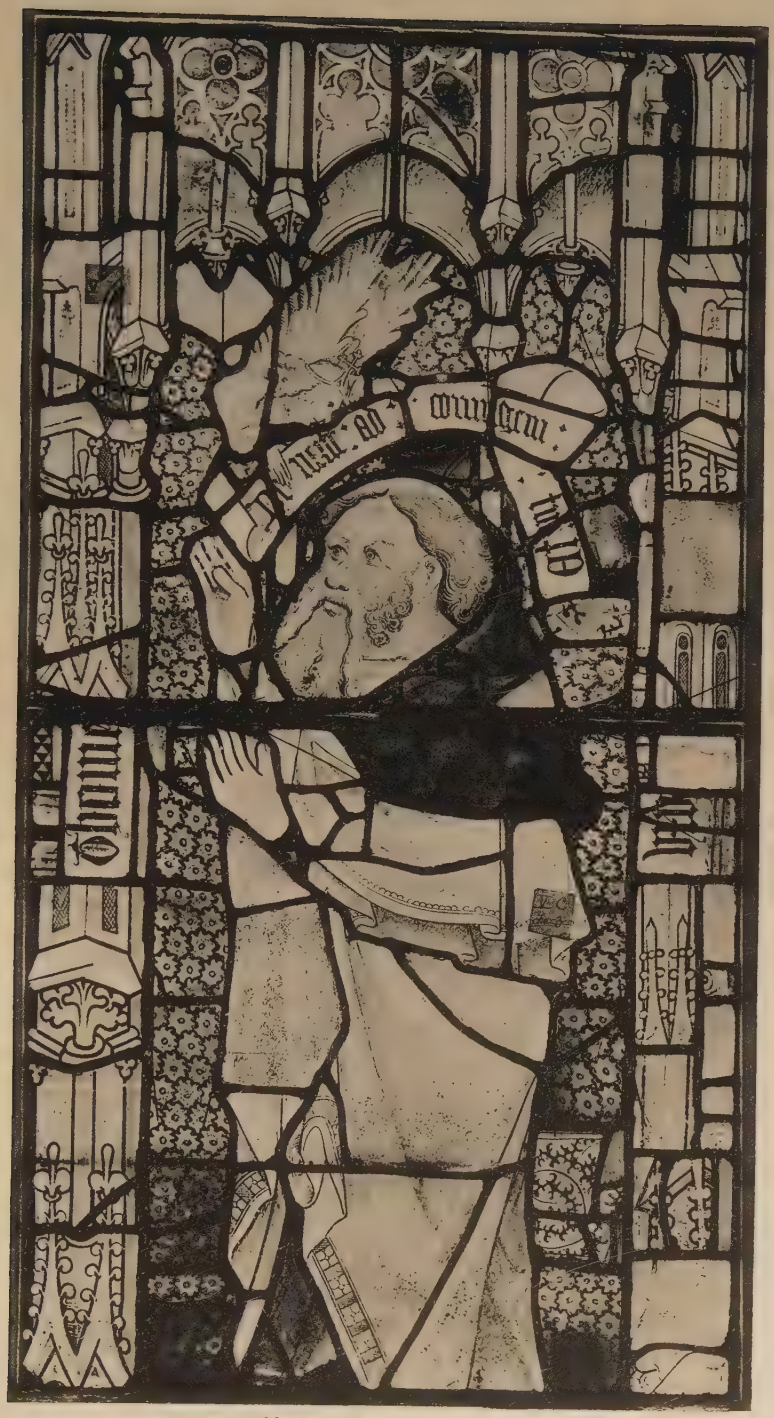
35. WARWICK—The Beauchamp Chapel. CHERUBIM PLAYING MUSIC AND SINGING.
By John Prudde, about 1447 (see pp. 103 and 113)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

36. YORK—All Saints Church, North Street. ENTERTAINING THE STRANGER, FROM A SERIES REPRESENTING THE CORPORAL ACTS OF MERCY. *Middle of the 15th century* (see p. 89)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

37. OXFORD—Bodleian Library. THE PENANCE OF HENRY II BEFORE THE SHRINE OF THOMAS À BECKET. *Middle of the 15th century*



Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

38. GREAT MALVERN PRIORY—Eastern window of north clerestory of choir. THE ANNUNCIATION TO JOACHIM.

Middle of the 15th century (see p. 233)

39. GREAT MALVERN PRIORY—West window. SAINT CATHERINE. *Middle of the 15th century*

(see p. 234)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

40.
BLEDINGTON, GLOS. — SAINT CHRISTOPHER (DETAIL) *Middle of the 15th century*

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

41. ORCHARDLEIGH, SOMERSET. ST. SIMON. *Middle of the 15th century*

Ph. V. and A. Museum

42. FEEDING THE POOR. ROUNDEL, PROBABLY FROM A SERIES REPRESENTING THE CORPORAL ACTS OF MERCY. Originally at Coventry. Now in the possession of the Honble. H. D. McLaren, M.P.
Middle of the 15th century (see p. 116)

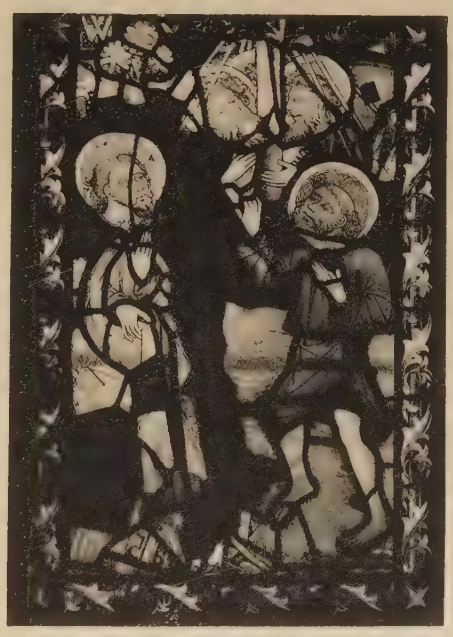
Ph. Sidney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

43. THE MUSEUM, LEICESTER. THE RESURRECTION. PART OF A SERIES FROM A HOUSE IN LEICESTER. *Middle of the 15th century* (see p. 116)

A. THE VISITATION

B. THE VISIT OF THE SHEPHERDS

C. PART OF THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI



D. THE CALL OF SAINT PETER

Ph. A. W. Oxbrow

44. NORWICH—Saint Peter Mancroft. *Middle of the 15th century* (see p. 109)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

45. BARKWAY ASH, HERTS. FIGURE OF AN ANGEL FROM A TRACERY LIGHT.
Middle of the 15th century

Ph. "Country Life"

46. OCKWELLS MANOR. THE ARMS OF (*a*) QUEEN MARGARET OF ANJOU, (*b*) JOHN DE LA POLE, AND (*c*) KING HENRY VI. Perhaps the work of John Prudde of Westminster. *About 1455-1460* (see pp. 104-5)

Ph. W. M. Dodson

47. MARGARETTING, ESSEX. JESSE WINDOW. Probably by John Prudde of Westminster. *About 1460* (see p. 113)

48.
WESTWOOD, WILTS. CHRIST ON THE CROSS.
Second half of the 15th century

Ph. V. and A. Museum

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

49. YORK—Church of St. John the Evangelist, Micklegate.
OUR LORD IN PITY. *About 1470* (see p. 108)

50. YORK. Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate. SAINT CHRISTOPHER.
About 1470

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

51.
COVENTRY.
St. Mary's Hall.
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.
Last quarter of the 15th century
(restored)
(see p. 107)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

52. LUDLOW—St. John's Chapel. East window, representing THE LEGEND OF ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND ST. JOHN THE DIVINE : KING EDWARD GRANTS A CHARTER TO THE PALMERS.

About 1470 (considerably restored)

53.
CANTERBURY
—North window.
PORTRAIT OF EDWARD IV, his own gift to the church. Probably the work of the Westminster school.
About 1480
(see p. 113)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

54.
CANTERBURY
—North window.
ELIZABETH, CONSORT OF EDWARD IV. (Companion panel to 53.)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF FANCY

Der Künstler will zur Welt durch ein Ganzes sprechen; dieses Ganze aber findet er nicht in der Natur, sondern es ist die Frucht seines eigenen Geistes oder, wenn Sie wollen, des Anwehens eines befruchtenden göttlichen Odems.—GOETHE.

§ 1

IT MAY SEEM A BOLD GENERALization to include under one descriptive heading all the mutations of style and sentiment which distinguish the next four centuries. But this I shall do, relying in the main on certain psychological considerations, the general trend of which will be already obvious from the previous chapters.

"Humanism," says its best modern critic,[1] "is the effort of men to think, to feel and to act for themselves, and to abide by the logic of results." We have already become conscious of the effort in relating the revolution of sentiment introduced by St. Francis: St. Francis is the true father of humanism, and the Renaissance is but "the logic of results." But between St. Francis and the Renaissance in its final development, there stands another influence which gradually blends with the Franciscan mood, and it is only to this blend that we can properly apply the term "Renaissance." Humanism and the Revival of Learning still remain very distinct entities.

The Revival of Learning is perhaps an unfortunate phrase, for the energy of which it was a manifestation showed itself in many other ways. There was a general spirit of enquiry about, and this expressed itself not merely in research, but also in invention. The Renaissance is to be considered more as an effect of the new knowledge and power thus gained than as a revolt against the mentality of the Middle Ages or as a return to some ideal of a pagan past. The invention of paper and printing, the discovery of the compass and of gunpowder, the exploration of the seas and the scientific explanation of the universe —these were much more potent factors than an idealization of the antique world. A too narrow consideration of the plastic arts has resulted in that catastrophic conception of this period which, despite the clear understanding of such writers

[1] Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism* (London, 1914), p. 191.

as Burckhardt and Symonds, still largely prevails. In reality there was no abrupt break; rather than the beginning of a new age, the Renaissance was, as even Symonds was bound to confess, the last stage and in some sense the culmination of the Middle Ages. And the four centuries which begin with the year 1500 are best considered as the break-up and the diffusion of this positive achievement.

Humanism is the most inclusive word by which we can indicate the significance of the Renaissance. It includes the *motive* of the Revival of Learning and of that study of antique models which had already begun with Niccolò Pisano early in the 13th century; it includes also that natural piety which was the decisive contribution of the Franciscan movement. If these two forces did not actually co-operate, they nevertheless made for the same end. What the rediscovery of the classic past effected in this way has been well expressed by Symonds: it " restored the confidence in their own faculties to men striving after spiritual freedom; revealed the continuity of history and the identity of human nature in spite of diverse creeds and different customs; held up for emulation masterpieces of literature, philosophy and art; provoked inquiry; encouraged criticism; shattered the narrow mental barriers imposed by mediaeval orthodoxy." [1] But the humanism which Symonds in the same place too narrowly derives from this contact with the ancient world is, in fact, a phenomenon of wider origin and diverse aspects. " The particular form assumed by human self-esteem," " the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being "—these are terms for the underlying cause of the Revival of Learning, and not for its effects.

The conception I wish to put forward here is that Italian art of the 15th century formed a positive unity which was the outcome of forces born in the 13th and developed during the 14th century (the course of which we have to some extent followed in the last chapter); that these positive forces are comprehensible as an orderly development from the achievements of the Middle Ages; and that it is nothing but the dissipation of these forces, their ferment in new countries and new minds, which constitutes the multiform phases of the history of European art after 1500.

Before we proceed with the development of this point of view, I should like to quote another passage from Thode's book on Franciscan art which is of decided relevance here:

" It is quite certain that a new phase in the development of Italian art sets in about 1400, and there is nothing surprising in the fact. For two centuries the Franciscan reform had exerted an intense and continuous influence: but, now, new ideals began to appeal strongly to the Italian people. These ideals, first heralded by Petrarch and Boccaccio, did not become common property until the turn of the century. The humanitarian movement, which I have ventured to call the popular movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., article " The Renaissance."

takes a new direction in Humanism. Until then, the Gospel and Nature had been as two guides along the road of Truth and Beauty; now a third guide is associated with these—the Antique. . . . This new influence was half scientific, half artistic: it enforced on artists a thoroughgoing study not only of perspective but also of the nude. . . . As a result of this, Italian art of the fifteenth century shows a sureness, a variety, and actuality of representation which make it appear farther removed from the art of the preceding century than it really is. The essential thing, however, is always the religious sentiment of the people; this is the spirit which animates art. . . . Despite the new influence of the antique, the art of the fifteenth century, like that of the fourteenth, is a purely Christian art. It takes from the antique whatever is wholesome for it; but despite this borrowing, it remains true to itself. Even when it attempts classical subjects, it does so merely out of curiosity—in fact, almost as a diversion. And besides, the number of mythological or historical subjects in the art of the fifteenth century is infinitesimally small. It is not until the zenith has been passed, in the sixteenth century, that artists began to play at classicism without restraint—with mere trifling as a result." [1]

That, I think, describes the general trend of art during this period of transition in a way which is sufficiently final not to need any amplification of mine. The change is seen as essentially a change of religious sensibility, of underlying mood, of man's reactions to the world about him. And as the mood changes, the mind changes; and art which can never proceed far without intellectual sanction, receives that sanction from the metaphysical concepts of Renaissance philosophy.

§ 2

THE HARMONY OF MEDIAEVAL philosophy depended on a strict interrelation and concurrence of the principles of reason and faith; but in establishing the dignity of human reason, mediaeval philosophy had created a good servant and a bad master. Once its strict relation to faith was questioned, reason proceeded to discover its self-sufficiency, and its first step was to confuse theology and experimental philosophy. The first disturbance of the Thomist equilibrium came from Duns Scotus, in whom there is already a strong preference for concepts derived from experience rather than for the inner certainty of intuition. In its most significant aspect, that is to say, in the sense in which it worked most influence on subsequent thought, the originality of the philosophy of Duns Scotus lay in its doctrine of the primacy of the will over the intelligence. This opened the way to a conception of liberty quite in opposition to scholastic discipline, and one that Duns Scotus himself did not foresee. It was a difference of method rather than of spirit, but the method carried the spirit beyond itself.

"Thus the thought of Duns Scotus, which would seem at first to be closely related to that of St. Thomas, distinguishes itself on the contrary in more

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 570-1.

than one respect, and the two doctors are separated by more than vain subtleties or an idle play of words. Both philosophies use the same material in concepts drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle, but the edifices built with these common materials are of very different styles. The work, incomplete, it is true, of Duns Scotus, is certainly very inferior to that of St. Thomas from the point of view of richness and of the architectonic order of its content; but it is carried away in its turn by the power and originality of the inspiration which animates it. St. Thomas has a genius for rational order and he is perhaps the greatest arranger of ideas that humanity has ever known. Duns Scotus belongs rather to the race of inventors than to that of organisers." [1]

The word *inventor* which Professor Gilson uses here should be given its due significance, for it implies all the difference of the new age that was then initiated. Duns Scotus died in 1308, but William of Ockham was already born, and it is William of Ockham whom we must consider as definitely deciding, once and for all, the direction of philosophy in the 14th century and thence onwards through the Renaissance period to Descartes, who is the father of modern philosophy. The whole distinction lay in the conception and use of the faculty of reason, and William of Ockham completed that dissociation of reason and faith which Duns Scotus had begun. St. Thomas had amalgamated reason and faith into the science of theology; in the 14th century there was elaborated another system of knowledge, dependent on reason alone, and henceforth philosophy became a distinct science.

"With Ockham we arrive at the normal conclusion of those principles which the experimentalism of Roger Bacon had posed. The sentiment of harmony between reason and faith which Duns Scotus had retained in practice and which had prevented him from applying his criticism of certitude to all problems, yields now before the exigencies of reason in the matter of proof. Experimental science does not yet exist, but the sentiment of what it was to become is live enough already to cause the title of certain knowledge to be withheld from affirmations which it could not guarantee." [2]

In effect, the tendency of these late mediaeval or pre-Renaissance philosophers was to liberate the faculty of reason from the restricted application given it by St. Thomas. From being the instrument of conviction, it became the art of explanation. But so soon as it became not an energy radiated from a heart of intuitive conviction, but the unbridled activity of the human brain—then reason became a *discursive* activity, free to roam in any sphere, eager to explore any mystery. And this sense of the faculty of reason is the most fundamental characteristic of the Renaissance and its historical succession (including our own age). It is the typical feature of 16th century philosophers like Cardan, Campanella, Bruno, and Vanini—and even of Francis Bacon. These are the most considerable philosophers of the Renaissance, and in the words of

[1] Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 83.

[2] Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

Schwegler, "they were all men of passionate, enthusiastic, impetuous nature; wild, unsettled character; roving and adventurous life; men animated by an intense thirst for knowledge, but who gave way withal to extravagant wildness of imagination, and to a mania for secret astrological and geomantic arts; on which account they passed away without leaving any fruitful or enduring result."[1]

What characterizes the thought of this period characterizes the art. By the end of the 15th century (perhaps by 1455, when Fra Angelico died) Italian art had outlived the Franciscan impulse, and, quite in keeping with the development of philosophy, had acquired the character of individuality. It was still capable of emotion, of power, and of greatness—but only of the emotion, power, and greatness of a personality. It had lost its universality, its humility, its subordination to a unity—all the qualities of classic art. The great era of romanticism was born.

The year 1453 saw the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Eastern Empire. Thenceforward Christianity was to turn its energies inwards, to the Western scene. Between 1492 and 1500 the expedition of Charles VIII to Naples opened Italy to French, German, and Spanish intermediaries: the rich content of the Renaissance spread to these countries like a ferment and the movement of diffusion was begun.

But one more force has to be reckoned before we return to England and our immediate subject. This is the Reformation, which found its fixed point and definition in the character and preaching of Luther (1483-1546). Luther was but the theological expression, first of that development of the discursive reason which we have already mentioned in connection with philosophy, and secondly of that development of the individuality which we have diagnosed in art. Never was a prophet so inevitable, and never one less inspired. But we need not deal at any length with this aspect of our period: its effect on art was but to speed those currents already flowing, until, reacting from one excess to another, it finally became the destroyer of the beauty it could not control.

The interesting fact for us is that whereas on the Continent the Renaissance and the Reformation are distinct aspects of humanism, capable of local differentiation, in England, where it was a case of reception and not of origination, these forces acted simultaneously. The Renaissance in England is inevitably associated with the Reformation; and both appear to be concurrent expressions of the new *Weltanschauung*. But when we come to consider the development of these new forces in England, we find a very precise differentiation. For the spirit of the Renaissance, as expressed, for example, in the contemporary art of Italy, Germany, and France, never became grafted on to the English spirit. It remained in the land, but only as a foreign strain—denizened in course of time, but never absorbed into our native

[1] *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Section 23, 5 (Stirling's translation, Section 23, 7).

blood. The Reformation, however, was a seed that fell on fertile ground. Ever since the end of the 14th century the Lollards, despite much persecution and scorn, had maintained in England doctrines to which the Reformation was to give a general prevalence. The foremost tenets of this sober and unimaginative sect expressed a hatred of all images and costly vestments, and among the followers of Wycliffe was born that tenacious and obstinate philistinism which, in the course of little more than a century, was to expand under the impulse of the Reformation into the proportions of a national trait. From this conjunction we may date the degeneracy of art in England. It is true that we recovered for a short time in the 18th century the vesture of our sensible nature, but with the turn of the century we were back again to our old distrust of beauty, animation, and splendour, and in that state, with but few signs of grace, we remain to this day.

The result, in the early 16th century, was that the practice of art fell largely into the hands of unprejudiced aliens. In the Netherlands, at that time our most intimate neighbours, a tradition of art still persisted. The Renaissance flourished there with a Northern glory not less magnificent than its Italian counterpart, and from the Netherlands there came artists to supply the demand, still maintained at the Court and among rich merchants, for the colour and magnificence which was no longer to be found in native hands.

The general character that the art of the Renaissance then assumed is too well known to need any description. In essentials—that is to say, in psychological presuppositions—it is the art with which we are still largely familiar to-day, and the only changes that have supervened since 1500 and until quite recent times are changes of technique or of taste. The individualistic standpoint has remained dominant, and a critic like Symonds, who is within this standpoint, can best express its merits:

"As technical skill increased, and as beauty, the proper end of art, became more rightly understood, the painters found that their craft was worthy of being made an end in itself, and that the actualities of life observed around them had claims upon their genius no less weighty than dogmatic mysteries. The subjects they had striven at first to realize with all simplicity now became little better than vehicles for the display of sensuous beauty, science, and mundane pageantry. The human body received separate and independent study, as a thing in itself incomparably beautiful, commanding more powerful emotions by its magic than aught else that sways the soul. At the same time the external world, with all its wealth of animal and vegetable life, together with the works of human ingenuity in costly clothing and superb buildings, was seen to be in every detail worthy of the most patient imitation. Anatomy and perspective taxed the understanding of the artist, whose whole force was no longer devoted to the task of bringing religious ideas within the limits of the representable. Next, when the classical revival came into play, the arts, in obedience to the spirit of the age, left the sphere of sacred subjects, and employed their full-grown faculties in the

55. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. BADGE OF EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES (AFTERWARDS EDWARD VI). FROM COWICK PRIORY, DEVON. *About 1545*

E
P
HIC
DEIN

Ph. J. B. S. Comper FIG. 22A

domain of myths and pagan fancies. In this way painting may truly be said to have opened the new era of culture, and to have first manifested the freedom of the modern mind."[1]

It was Symonds, too, who first pointed out, merely as a superficial generalization, that while the Middle Ages had found its distinctive artistic outlet in architecture, the Renaissance turned to painting as an art capable of affecting the sensibilities "by suggestions more indirect, more mobile, and more multiform." Worringer has given this idea depth by relating mediaeval architecture to the transcendental nature of mediaeval religiosity, and Renaissance art to the spirit of naturalism. Each of these dominant arts, architecture and painting, remains faithful in its age to its inherent aesthetic laws. Now in the Middle Ages, as we have seen, stained glass existed as an art strictly subordinate to architecture. With the Renaissance, and the shifting of the dominant emphasis from architecture to painting, the art of stained glass found itself in a dilemma. It had to re-adapt itself or suffer from the general subordination of architecture. *It attempted to save itself by adopting the aesthetics of painting*, and the history of stained glass henceforth is the history of this false step and of all the disastrous consequences.

§ 3

THE HISTORY OF STAINED GLASS in England during the period of the Renaissance is largely the history of the

[1] *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. iii, pp. 22-3.

penetration of foreign influences. A great school of glass-painting was established, and for the time, indeed, glass-painting became the characteristic pictorial art of England; but it was entirely the creation of a handful of Flemish immigrants, and these came to our country rather as ambassadors of the new culture than as hostages to fortune.

The art of the Renaissance may be said to have first reached England with the accession of Henry VII in 1485. The King himself was fully imbued with the Renaissance spirit: he had taste and sensibility, and his exile had brought him into contact with the more advanced art of the Continent. Part of this wise king's policy was to invite foreign artists of repute to England and entrust them with important commissions and appointments, and among these we find certain "glasyers," of whom Barnard Flower is the first and most important. The exact date of his immigration is unknown, but it was some time previous to 1505, when he was made King's Glazier, an office hitherto held by an Englishman.

Ph. J. B. S. Comper
FIG. 22B

"Between the years 1509 and 1515 Flower executed the whole of the windows of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and in 1512 he was paid the then large sum of £23 1*s.* 4*d.* for glazing 'Our Lady Chapel at Walsingham.' He was then entrusted with the contract for the whole of the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, but died before he had completed more than four. Although he was a 'glazier' [*i.e.*, glass-painter] to the King, and was in receipt of a salary of £23 per year 'for keeping of certen of the King's manors and castells in Reparacon with glasses,' over and above the large contracts just referred to, involving considerable sums of money, he had to

live 'within the precinct of Saint Thomas the Martir hospital in the Burgh of Southwerk.' This he was compelled to do in order to be out of the jurisdiction of the city, and to avoid the penalties of the Act of Richard III forbidding an alien to keep foreign apprentices or workpeople to assist him."[1]

In 1514 Flower was made a denizen, but he died three years later.

If we may regard John Prudde as virtually the founder of what we now call the Westminster school, because the Abbey at Westminster was the main scene of its activity, yet it was not until Barnard Flower established its fame by his work for Henry VII's Chapel that this school became the dominant factor in the history of English stained glass. Of Flower's masterpiece very little now remains, but sufficient to identify his style (see Fig. 22). Of other work by Flower beyond that already mentioned no documentary evidence now exists, but the remains attributed to him on stylistic evidence are very considerable, since they include the glass at Fairford. The evidence for and against this attribution is discussed in Appendix A (p. 236). Westlake also hazarded the opinion[2] that the glass put into Winchester Cathedral by Bishop Fox was again Flower's work. Personally I am inclined to favour both these attributions, and admitting them, and then considering the general character of Flower's work, one is surprised, not at the strangeness of the innovations, but at the manner in which the tradition of the Westminster school is adopted and developed. For during the second half of the 15th century that school has developed a style and an enterprise which inclines one to demur to Mr. Knowles's statement that, at the end of the century "English glass-painters were not keeping abreast of the times," and that "the London Company or Gild of Glaziers and Painters on Glass was old-fashioned." For his time, there is nothing old-fashioned about John Prudde,

Ph. Oscar G. Farmer

FIG. 23A

[1] For many of the details repeated here, I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Knowles's article on "Disputes between English and Foreign Glass-painters in the Sixteenth Century" (*The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. v, No. 2, April 1925), which in its turn is based on documents brought to light by Mr. E. Wyndham Hulme. For an account of Barnard Flower, see also *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., vol. iii, p. 436, where the facts are summarized by H.C. (Mr. Herbert Chitty).

[2] Vol. iv, p. 24.

as witnessed by his work at Warwick and Margaretting. If we review all the work that may reasonably be assigned to the Westminster school of the generation before the accession of Henry VII, such as Warwick, Margaretting, Salisbury (St. Thomas), Canterbury, Bowness, Levrington, Long Melford, Blakeney, and Martham, we are impressed, not by its backwardness, but by the remarkable way in which it heralds the approaching change. It fully bears out the statement, quoted in the last chapter, that the 15th century in England is entitled to be regarded as a period of intellectual and artistic enlightenment—as a foreshadowing of the full Renaissance that came with the 16th century. Prudde's angels at Warwick (1447) are very kin to Flower's angels at Westminster (say 1509). But it is easily conceivable that whilst the craft continued in competence, it came to want that inspiration of creative design which only an artist can supply. And certainly it seems that no one came forward to fill the place of John Prudde until Henry VII had the good sense to bring Barnard Flower from the Netherlands.

Flower's work is by no means of fully developed Renaissance character—even judging him by his latest manner, if the window above the north door in King's College Chapel is rightly assigned to him. But there is no hesitation of style in the rest of the glass in that Chapel: it is fully and magnificently in the new manner, and remains perhaps the finest and most significant monument of Renaissance art in England.

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FIG. 23B

Its authorship is known and the nationality of most of the artists beyond dispute. In 1526, nine years after Flower's death, the authorities of the College contracted with his successor in the office of King's Glazier, Galyon Hone,

and three others, by name Richard Bownde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson, to provide designs and complete the glazing of all the unfinished windows. There was a subsidiary contract with Francis Williamson and Symond Symonds for glazing, but the four first-mentioned " glazyers " were to provide the cartoons or vidimuses for these two apparently less competent craftsmen.[1] The exact implication of this contract depends on the interpretation of the word " glasyer," and about this there has been a good deal of discussion.

" The Rev. Mr. Bolton and Mr. Winston are of the opinion that the ' glasyer ' was an artist, or draughtsman of cartoons to be rendered on glass; and it appears to have been thus used in this contract, in that for the East Window at York, and in that for the Beauchamp Chapel glass. . . . My own ideas are decidedly that the ' glasyer ' was the composer, and even the inventor, of some of the best ancient examples; generally speaking, he had to supply the vidimus or cartoon, but in the decline of the art he may have been merely a copyist and ultimately a contractor. I should add that it is probable that the glasyer also superintended the work on the glass, although he did not actually paint it. . . . I shall content myself (as far as King's College is concerned) with accepting the idea that the men originally called *glasyers* both designed, put together the compositions, and carried out the windows." [2]

Westlake's hypothesis probably fits the facts as they existed between the decay of the mediaeval practice, when the windows were, in my opinion,[3] designed by the illuminators, and the beginning of a new practice at the time of the Renaissance. In Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands there can be no doubt that during the first half of the 16th century it was the general practice of the glass-painters to go to general artists for their designs, and many authentic drawings exist to testify to the part played in this way by artists so famous as Dürer, Holbein, Burckmair,

[1] The agreement, which is dated 30th April 1526, is given in full in *The architectural history of the University of Cambridge*, by R. Willis and J. W. Clark, Cambridge, 1886, vol. i, p. 615. Hone and his three partners " Covenaunte, graunte and them bynde by these presentes, that they shalle at their owne propre costes and charges wele, suerly, clenely, workemanly, substauneyally, curyously and sufficiently glase and sette up, or cause to be glased and sett up eightene wyndowes of the upper story of the great churche within the Kynges College of Cambrydge, whereof the wyndowe in the Este ende of the seid Churche to be oon, And the wyndowe in the west eende of the same Churche to be a nother; and so seryatly the Resydue, with good, clene, sure and perfyte [Normandy, drawn through] glass and Oryent Colours and Imagery of the story of the olde lawe and of newe lawe after the fourme, maner, goodenes, curyousytie, and clenelynes, in every poynt, of the glasse wyndowes of the Kynges Newe Chapell at Westmynster; And also accordyngly and after suche maner as oon Barnard Flower Glasyer late deceessed by indenture stode bounde to doo." They also covenanted to " dylyver or cause to be delyuered to Fraunces Williamson . . . and to Symond Symondes . . . good and true patrons otherwyse called A vidimus, for to fourme glasse and make by other foure wyndowes of the seid Churche. . . ."

[2] Westlake, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 29-30.

[3] See page 25.

Lucas van Leyden, and many others. Among the artists who thus associated themselves with the art of the glass-painter was Dirick Vellert of Antwerp, and it has been suggested by Dr. N. Beets that none other than Vellert himself[1] is the artist concerned in the design of the windows of King's College Chapel. The evidence is purely comparative, but the more we compare the King's College Chapel windows with the known work of Vellert, the more startling the similarity becomes, and I for one feel inclined to accept the suggestion put forward by Dr. Beets. If this is granted, it follows that Westlake's interpretation of the word "glasyer" in the Cambridge contract is fallacious, and as a possible interpretation of the procedure I would suggest that the principal performers in the contract would first set about to secure a suitable design (which would be no more than a drawing on the usual scale of drawings) from some competent artist, and then themselves from this design make cartoons for the windows, and afterward supervise the subsequent stages of the glazing and erection of the windows.

Of the glaziers mentioned in the King's College contract, Galyon Hone, James Nicholson, Francis Williamson, and Symond Symonds were all probably Flemings, and all but Symonds were domiciled in Southwark, without the city. Bownde and Reve, who belonged respectively to the parishes of St. Clement Danes and St. Sepulchre, were, in all probability, Englishmen. There seems no reason to doubt that the work was carried out in England, either in Westminster, or more likely to a great extent in the immediate vicinity of the Chapel. The conclusion from these facts as to the nationality of the glass-painting is not foregone: its place of origin is England, and it is about as English as any art of that time. It falls to be studied, where its provenance and to some extent its craftsmanship are inalienably determined, as part of the general development of the art of glass-painting in England.

There is no documentary evidence for any of the remainder of the Renaissance glass in England. The windows in the Chapel at The Vyne in Hampshire, and the similar glass previously in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, Basingstoke, and now in the parish church of that place, were evidently made specifically for these chapels; it is just possible that they may have been executed by the Westminster school, but this is a question which will be more fully discussed in the Appendix (see p. 239). The important fragments at Bury St. Edmunds (church of St. James) are not so evidently in their original situation, nor so openly in the character of the Westminster work; but this work must have possessed a variety of which we can have no conception to-day, and it is idle to be dogmatic about its foreign origin. The same, indeed, applies to the much more important window at St. Margaret's, Westminster (Pls. 60 and 61), which is of similar date. The origin and history of this

[1] *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xii, p. 33.

window is fully discussed in Appendix A (p. 236), and though there is little certainty in any of the facts, there is enough to illustrate the vicissitudes which glass-paintings have undergone in England; it is only by the remotest chance that art so inconvenient to hide and so easy to break has ever survived.

Ph. Fred. H. Crossley

FIG. 24

§ 4

OF THE STAINED GLASS OF THE 17th century Westlake remarks: "For works of this and later periods I have personally very little liking." This instinctive aversion is quite free from any theoretical prejudice, and no doubt Westlake merely reacted to his sense of the orderly development of the art of glass-painting. He did not, like Winston, appeal to the criterion of classical art, nor did he indict the course of art in general. In this he was wise, for the obvious truth is that once it had put itself under the dominion of a false aesthetic the art of glass-painting fell into confusion and eventually perished. There is a lingering sense of fitness in the window of Lydiard-Tregoze (Pl. 65); there is still a *structure* of glass, and not merely a flat, translucent ground, less practical and therefore less estimable than the normal ground of canvas. But the way leads to Peckitt and Price, to Gyles (Pl. 66) and Jervais, to the van Linges, to Eginton, Pearson and his wife[1] (Fig. 26). There is now a prodigality of names, but a paucity of genius. But within their misapplied aesthetic, the achievements of a few of these artists are not to be altogether despised.

If we consider for a moment the development of glass-painting where we find

[1] Abraham van Linge and Bernard van Linge (fl. 1620-40); Henry Gyles (1645-1709); William Price the elder (d. 1722); Joshua Price (fl. 1715-17); William Price the younger (d. 1765); William Peckitt (1731-95); Francis Eginton (1737-1805); James Pearson (d. 1805); Eglington Margaret Pearson (d. 1823). Further particulars of all these glass-painters may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and of some of them (the Gyles, Price, and Peckitt families, for example) in Mr. J. A. Knowles's contributions to *Notes and Queries* referred to in the Bibliography (Appendix B).

its highest level in the 17th century, in Switzerland, we see that a certain appropriate technique of enamel-painting had been evolved during the preceding century. For various reasons of a social kind, glass-painting in that country had acquired a more domestic character: it actually became part of the furniture of the people, and a panel for the window of a room was as natural, and even more usual, than a picture for the wall. Glass-paintings thus became intimate and portable—a kind of *Kleinmalerei* comparable to the later development of *Kleinplastik* in sculpture. Within the limits of this littleness, the art of enamelling glass developed an appropriate technique. It was, indeed, the technique of painting—of translucent painting—but then the Swiss panel *was* in all essentials a painting. The specific problems of distance and architectural harmony did not enter into the question: everything was made for nearness and intimacy. And on this scale *stained* glass was inappropriate, ungainly, and without effect.

The same observations might be made of the Dutch and Flemish glass-paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries, and it was through these, rather than the Swiss, that the new style penetrated to England. At their best, the achievements of the glass-painters in this genre have a miniature delicacy and a perfection of means beyond reproach. But it must be realized that we have entered on a new art, with its own aesthetic, and we must beware of any confusions of judgement in this respect. The unfortunate truth is that in England it was the glass-painters

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

FIG. 25

who were guilty of confusion. Social custom never called upon them for a domestic art comparable with Swiss glass-painting, but nevertheless they attempted to apply the methods of the foreign glass-painters (but without their technical skill) to the quite different needs of ecclesiastical buildings. The result was generally ludicrous, and always inappropriate. But whenever by chance or by choice one of our enamel glass-painters applied himself to domestic work on an appropriate scale, then the result was one of some charm. We must note particularly the " Betley " window (Pl. 64), at one time in Betley Hall, Staffordshire.[1] Here, for once, the art of the English enamel glass-painter is fully justified, and we get the enamel technique[2] used on a proper scale for the expression of a purely English sentiment. For similar reasons the heraldic work of most of the 17th and 18th century glass-painters is often pleasing and generally tolerable; and in a few cases, such as those of Gyles and Peckitt, we must acknowledge a mastery which, if not approaching the standard of the glass-painters of Switzerland, is yet expressive of its age and comparable with the achievements of other arts of the time.

Ph. V. and A. Museum

FIG. 26

But speaking generally we must confess that the art of glass-painting in England during the 17th and 18th centuries does not offer sufficient material for any comparative criticism or positive judgement. We see nothing but scattered individuals, each expressing his own wayward fancy, displaying some ingenuity, supplying some passing need, but achieving nothing of significance. From this decadent art alone it would be impossible to construct any logical narrative of the development of art in general, much less of the change of spirit under-

[1] For further details concerning this window, see Appendix A, p. 240.

[2] The difference between "stained glass" and enamelled glass is really the difference between painting in line (iron black or grisaille) on a "pot-metal" coloured throughout its substance, and painting with coloured enamels on a surface of clear glass. In the latter process "glass of the colour required, ground as fine as possible, was mixed with an oil or similar medium, laid on the glass, and fired. The heat of the kiln burnt away the medium, re-uniting the tiny particles to each other and to the glass on which they were laid, so that the pane thus treated presents the appearance of having a thin skin of melted glass of the colour required laid just where the painter wanted it" (M. Drake, *A History of English Glass-painting*, p. 71).

lying such developments. The epochs of the baroque and the rococo, so full of interest for any general survey of the history of art, and so little understood, pass without any perceptible influence in this sphere. The art of stained glass died the moment it lost its aesthetic sanction; its history need only be resumed at a point, two centuries later, when that sanction was once more recovered.

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56. FAIRFORD, GLOS. DETAILS. (see pp. 234-6)

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57. FAIRFORD, GLOS.—The East window. THE CRUCIFIXION. *Early 16th century* (see pp. 234-6)

Ph. J. Palmer Clarke

58. KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE—Window No. 19. THE INCREDULITY OF ST. THOMAS, AND CHRIST BLESSING THE APOSTLES. *Early 16th century* (see pp. 192 and 236)

Ph. J. Palmer Clarke

59. KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE—Detail from Window No. 20. THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. *Early 16th century* (see pp. 192 and 236)

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60. ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER. THE EAST WINDOW. *About 1520*
(see pp. 192 and 236-9)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

61. ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER. THE EAST WINDOW: DETAIL.

(see pp. 192 and 236-9)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

62.
THE VYNE IN HAMPSHIRE—
MARGARET TUDOR, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, WITH ST. MARGARET.
About 1520
(see p. 239)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

63. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. THE ARMS OF JANE SEYMOUR, QUEEN-CONSORT OF HENRY VIII. From the palace of Nonsuch, Surrey. *About 1537* (see p. 105)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

64. THE BETLEY WINDOW. MORRIS DANCERS. In the possession of the Rt. Honble. W. C. Bridgeman, P.C., J.P., M.P. Formerly at Betley Hall, Staffordshire. *Early 17th century* (see pp. 195 and 240)

Ph. Sydney Pitcher, A.R.P.S.

65. LYDIARD TREGOZE, WILTS.—East window. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST; AN OLIVE-TREE BEARING SIX SHIELDS SHOWING THE DESCENT OF THE HEIRESS OF BEAUCHAMP, WIFE OF SIR OLIVER ST. JOHN; AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. *Early 17th century* (see p. 193, also *Wilts. Archaeol. Soc. Mag.*, vol. xxvii, p. 440 and Aubrey's *Wiltshire*, edn. 1862, p. 170)

Ph. John A. Knowles, F.S.A.

66. NUNAPPLETON HALL, NEAR YORK. SUNDIAL, by Henry Gyles. *1645-1709* (see p. 193)

Ph. V. and A. Museum

67. ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER.
TWO ANGELS WITH INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION. From the tracery lights of the East window. *18th century restorations painted by William Price the younger of York (d. 1765)* (see p. 239)

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE MODERN MOVEMENT

Est du domaine de l'art tout passage de l'informulé au formulé, de l'indéfini au défini, du présent au passé.—ROBERT SIEGFRIED.

§ 1

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL THAT came as an offspring of the Romantic Movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries is perhaps utterly despicable in every sphere of the plastic arts: it is devoid of all inner reason or inspiring sentiment, and more often than not it ignorantly apes what it cannot understand. But there was, underlying the great economic expansion of the country, a certain need for the expression of ideals, and this need had the force of a consistent impulse. We can never help regretting that this impulse missed the tide of a second renaissance of the plastic arts; but the materialistic sentiment of the age would hardly permit either the leisure or the disinterestedness necessary for such a consummation. It was inevitable that the renaissance when it did come should be born in a cloister; and so we find the Pre-Raphaelite movement being given its decisive character by two undergraduates at Oxford. But perhaps it was due solely to the practical genius of William Morris that this more than individual movement in art emerged from the cloister and made the sense of beauty once again a vital force in the economic life of England—and, indeed, eventually of Europe.

Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris entered the University together in 1853, and immediately they found in each other "a kindred and complemental spirit." By 1855 they had begun to formulate those ideals of applied art which, in Morris's case at least, sprang from a conception of life absolutely radical in nature and prophetic in aim. We cannot enter here into the general character of Morris's achievements, but the basic fact upon which all his ideals rested was an intense aesthetic appreciation of mediaeval art. As much, perhaps, can be said of the initiators of the Gothic Revival, though we may suspect that as an aspect of Romanticism their enthusiasm sprang from a sense of the

remoteness, the strangeness, and the mysterious gloom of this earlier art rather than from any real understanding of its rational basis or religious significance. Mr. Geoffrey Scott[1] has even defined Romanticism in this sense: "Romanticism may be said to consist in a high development of aesthetic sensibility towards the remote as such. It idealizes the distant, both of time and place; it identifies beauty with strangeness." But Morris had a more logical appreciation of the Gothic, and his attitude was as free from insincerity as it was devoid of any desire to imitate. He realized that without the spirit, the form could not exist, and his real greatness and his overwhelming importance in the history of modern craftsmanship springs entirely from the fact that he attempted to evolve a style and invent a technique appropriate to the expressions of his age.

Burne-Jones designed his first cartoons for stained glass as early as 1857, and the St. Frideswide window in Christ Church, Oxford, dates from 1859. These early windows were carried out by Messrs. Powell of the Whitefriars Glasshouse, but from 1861 Burne-Jones worked exclusively for Morris. Stained glass was included in the first exhibition of the work of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company in 1862. But the work of this period is weak in design and uncertain in technique. No attempt has been made to work out the proper function of the leads in the design, and the enamels are either poor in quality or badly fired. But even so, there was a certain freshness of attitude and a revolt against the dead conventions of the time. But as the demand for stained glass increased, so more thought was given to these matters and the improvement was rapid. The firm began to work in co-operation with an architect—G. F. Bodley—who was at that time building a series of new churches, and all the specific problems of the craft were thought out afresh by Morris. His success was due essentially to two principles, one of which, in my opinion, to some extent determined the superiority of the early Gothic glass-painting. This was the separation of the artist and the craftsmen: Morris realized that a good craftsman was not necessarily a great artist. Such, he might have said to himself, was the whole difference between himself and his friend Burne-Jones. He therefore determined to go for his designs to the best artist he knew of—and this was Burne-Jones; he then translated these designs himself into the appropriate technical medium. But let me, in this important matter, quote Mr. Mackail's authority:

"As regards the personal part which Morris took in this branch of the firm's work, it was the invariable practice in early years, and remained the rule after the Merton Abbey works were started, that the interpretation of the design and the choice of the glass came under his own eye. He seldom at any time, and never in more recent years, made complete designs for windows himself. From the first, the figure subjects were mainly supplied by those of his colleagues who

[1] *The Architecture of Humanism*, p. 39.

were professional painters. As time went on, they came almost exclusively from the studio of Burne-Jones, who supplied no cartoons for glass except to the firm. But background and foliage were, as a rule, of Morris's designing. . . ." [1]

In this manner two essentials were secured: a design of imaginative worth free from the cramping influence (and the mere imaginative insufficiency) of the craftsman, and a technical execution of this design free from the craft amateurishness of the imaginative artist.

The second principle which guided Morris in his revival of the art of glass-painting arose out of his attitude towards the supply of painted windows for ancient buildings. Despite the considerable financial loss involved, Morris made it a rule (to which, however, there exist one or two exceptions) never to supply a stained-glass window for any church which could be considered a monument of ancient art. He did this not only because he was conscious of the material damage suffered by the buildings themselves in such "*restorations*," but also because of his strong conviction of the incongruity between his essentially modern work and the buildings for which his work was solicited. Mr. Mackail [2] quotes a statement on this subject by Mr. George Wardle, who was closely associated with Morris in his work:

"Never, let people say what they will about the suitability of Mr. Morris's glass to mediaeval buildings, do the old and the new rightly harmonize. This last opinion very few were able to adopt, for so few recognized the real originality and modernness of his art. It was supposed to be mediaeval. In popular estimation design necessarily takes one of several recognized forms which are called styles, and as his design had many of the characters of mediaeval work, he was supposed to be intentionally imitating that style. On the contrary, Mr. Morris was too unaffected, and in the broadest sense natural, in his art to allow himself to imitate, and as he did not intentionally make his work mediaeval, he did not pretend that it could be suitable for a mediaeval building."

This principle has not merely the negative force of preventing the disfigurement of ancient buildings, but what is almost more important, it has the positive force of compelling the stained-glass designer and painter to originality of conception and fertility of design. Above all, it drives him into the current of contemporaneous sensibility: he must adapt his mood and his manner to whatever there is of value in modernity.

That value in Morris's time was concentrated in the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, and to this movement Morris naturally allied his talents. He could not, in the circumstances, have done better, and any criticisms which we have to make of Morris's stained glass inevitably involves us in a criticism of the Pre-Raphaelite painters—and particularly of Burne-Jones. In his fully developed style, as in the cathedral at Birmingham,

[1] *The Life of William Morris*, by J. W. Mackail, vol. ii, p. 41.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 40.

there is little to complain of in the technique of Morris's glass. Time has yet to show whether the materials will weather so well as the 13th century materials, but in this matter Morris was at the mercy of other people; he did not make his own glass, but obtained the best he could find in the market. In other technical matters Morris need not fear comparison with any age. His selection and disposition of colours is admirable, and he was not afraid of using new colours to achieve effects unknown to previous ages. In the use of leads to emphasize design he is masterly, and we must again go back to the 13th century for an adequate comparison.[1] The weakness of this glass-painting comes from a certain sentimentality for which Burne-Jones is responsible: it is evident especially in the treatment of the features—always the weakest point in a Morris window. For the successful treatment of features in glass-painting a certain breadth of style and vigour of brushwork is essential, especially in large-scale work; the particular effeminacy of Burne-Jones's style was inconsistent with such treatment; and the result was that Morris adopted for the painting of features a stippled modelling which at a distance seems wan and ineffectual. We have only to look at the work of a 13th century glass-painter to see how much more effective are the few simple, significant, and vigorous brushstrokes with which he delineated his subject.

The best work of Morris and Burne-Jones was done during the 'seventies and 'eighties of last century; the most complete record of the various windows carried out by these happy partners will be found in Malcolm Bell's monograph on Burne-Jones.[2] The most outstanding examples are to be found in Christ Church, Oxford (the St. Cecilia and St. Catherine windows, 1874-5 and 1878), the "Judgment" window at East-hampstead (1875), the two windows in Salisbury Cathedral (1879), the east window of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London (1881), a window representing The Resurrection at Hopton (1882), the well-known windows at St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, perhaps the finest of all (1887), and (perhaps the most important in London) the windows at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street. What is reputed to be one of the finest examples

[1] The leads of a stained-glass window may be regarded as technical necessities which, unless they are made to contribute to the aesthetic effect of the window, will decidedly interfere with it. Their technical function is to hold together the mosaic of coloured glass; their aesthetic function is (1) to emphasize and (2) to frame the design. In (1) they act as dominant lines, and are thus made to pick out or accentuate the general character of the composition. In modern times, chiefly in Germany and France, some interesting work has been done which entirely relies on the leading for its outlines. In (2) the leads are used to make formal patterns, which are either geometrical designs in white glass (so-called grisaille windows), or, as in a typical 13th century window, make up an ornamental framework for the pictorial medallions.

[2] *Sir Edward Burne-Jones: a Record and Review*, by Malcolm Bell, 4th ed., London, 1898. See especially pp. 74-83 and Appendix III.

of their work (1882) is a window at Biarritz in France, representing the Marriage at Cana. In addition to all the work designed for churches, and confined in the main to Biblical subjects, Burne-Jones and Morris made a good deal of stained glass for domestic or secular purposes (Pl. 68). In their choice of subjects for this profaner glass, they perhaps unduly confined themselves to the romantic and literary predilections of their circle; but here again we cannot criticize their stained glass without entering into a criticism of their whole point of view. It is perhaps sufficient to say that it lacked the immediacy and the reality which we are entitled to expect from any contemporary expression of ideals.

Other members of the Pre-Raphaelite group designed windows for Morris, but none with anything approaching the success of Burne-Jones. It is interesting to note an example of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's work (Pl. 69), but the interest is more in the individuality of the design than in any quality of glass-painting. The uncertain placing of the leads and the poor quality of the enamelling indicate the early date in Morris's career to which the panel belongs.

§ 2

THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WILliam Morris established and followed give us an adequate criterion for the criticism of modern stained glass. It is sad to confess how little these principles have been followed in England itself. There is no longer any vital contact between the glass-painters and the significant artists of the day. And in all directions there is a relapse into a servile and lifeless imitation of mediaeval mannerisms, due to a natural disregard for those self-sacrificing ordinances which Morris observed. It seems that only the complete filling of every window in every old church will ever terminate this atrocious vandalism. There might be some satisfaction in the prospect if it were certain that that would put a stop to what is known in the trade as "period work"; but these pastiches of the art of other epochs find their way into practically every new church that is built, and the only hope of any reform would seem to lie in the final triumph of those principles for which William Morris stood. For these principles are not altogether dead: they have merely migrated, and on the Continent, especially in Germany, there is a school of glass-painting which is not only modern in intention, but is inspired by all that is vital and significant in modern art.

Like the stained glass of William Morris, this modern Continental stained glass is both religious and secular; we have on the one hand the profoundly moving and sincere work of Jan Thorn-Prikker, who has given to the symbols and images of Christianity a new intensity and realism for which there is no parallel this side of the Renaissance; and on the other hand we have the abstract designs of Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and again of Thorn-Prikker

which seem to open up infinite possibilities for this art of pure colour and light.[1] Stained glass, which dominates all other arts in this matter of colour, would seem to be peculiarly fitted for those experiments in abstract design and harmony which have been distinctive of a certain phase of modern art. The difficulty here, and in all contemporary glass-painting of a non-ecclesiastical kind, is not so much to extend the possibilities of the art in the direction of design and actuality, but rather to find a function for the art itself. For that we must look, with whatever faith we can summon, to those manifestations of civic and commercial enterprise for which our age is distinguished. At Hagen, in Germany, the railway station has fine modern glass by Jan Thorn-Prikker; in Paris the offices of a newspaper, *L'Intransigeant*, are decorated with appropriate designs in painted glass. But these are isolated instances of what seems to be the only chance of a revival of the art commensurate with its possibilities. There is nothing impossible in such a revival: the technical and material resources of the art are greater than they have ever been. All that is lacking is the desire; and to foster this we cannot do better than instill a wider consciousness of the unique and unrivalled beauties of the art as it has existed in the past.

Ph. V. and A. Museum

FIG. 27

[1] For further details of the modern movement in Germany, see Bernard Rackham, "Glasspainting as an Art for Today," *Artwork*, December, 1925, March and June, 1926. See also G. L. Heinersdorff, *Die Glasmalerei* (Berlin, 1914), and A. Hoff, *Die religiöse Kunst Johann Thorn-Prikker's* (Dusseldorf, 1924).

68. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. SIR GALAHAD AND THE HOLY GRAIL. DESIGNED BY SIR EDWARD BURNE-JONES (b. 1853: d. 1898). EXECUTED BY WILLIAM MORRIS AND CO. (Made for Sir Edward Burne-Jones's house, The Grange, North End, Fulham, and subsequently moved to his house at Rottingdean.)

how galahad sought the sangreal and found it because his
heart was single so he followed it to sarras the city of the spirit

Ph. V. and A. Museum

69. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM. MUSIC. From a series representing the Arts, designed by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Made by Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company, about 1862. (The same design was also used on a Morris cabinet painted with incidents from the "Honeymoon of King René of Anjou.") (see p. 225)

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EARLIER STAINED GLASS REMAINS IN ENGLAND; TOGETHER WITH A DISCUSSION OF SELECTED EXAMPLES OF LATER GLASS

DR. PHILIP NELSON, IN HIS *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, has made the first draft of a complete survey of the ancient glass-paintings in England. This list, which is arranged by counties, extends to more than two hundred pages of close print, and though it would be possible to add a few items to that list, and a good deal more by way of detail, such a task would demand a separate publication and is, indeed, the alternative method of approaching the subject of stained glass in England which I have envisaged in the Preface to this volume. My purpose in this Appendix is to give the reader a general conspectus of the earlier glass and to add a few notes on later glass which may contribute, however little, to the solution of the problems that here and there confront the student of this art.

FIRST PERIOD

(FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO 1350)

THE TWELFTH-CENTURY GLASS at York has been discussed in the text (pp. 17 and 52). The fragmentary remains at Dorchester Abbey (Oxfordshire), Lanchester (co. Durham), St. Denis, York, Brabourne (Kent) are all worthy of consideration in view of the scarcity of glass-paintings of this early period. The 12th or early 13th century glass at Wilton (Wilts) and Rivenhall (Essex) is of French provenance. Apart from these remnants, the only glass which we can even tentatively place within the twelfth century is to be found at Canterbury and Lincoln.

Canterbury. Somewhat sweeping claims for the 12th century have been made for some of the glass at Canterbury, particularly by Dr. Nelson (*op. cit.*, chap. ii and pp. 103-120). For example, it is asserted by Dr. Nelson (p. 103) that "the glass in the windows of the north choir aisle is of the latter part of the twelfth century, and is, no doubt, part of that inserted in the present choir on its completion in 1184." (*Cf.* Pls. 1, 5, and 7.) Again, the glass in the great rose window in the north wall of the north-east transept is claimed for the 12th century (*cf.* Pl. 4). And finally the series of figure windows, originally in the choir clerestory, but now scattered, some in the great west window, others in the south window of the south-west transept, are also without hesitation ascribed to the 12th century. We are perhaps concerned with a narrow period of forty years, say from 1180 to 1220, and it is very difficult at this distance of time to be dogmatic within such limits. Of one thing we may be certain: that none of the glass pre-

dates the disastrous fire of 1170. But among the glass actually claimed for the 12th century we may observe certain stylistic differences for which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must make a due allowance in time. The figures of the prophets from the choir clerestory are undoubtedly the earliest of the glass, and if we assume that these date from the rebuilding of the choir, completed in 1184, then the later type, represented by Pls. 1, 7, and 8, could be ascribed to the early part of the 13th century, thus ranging with the similar glass at Chartres, which is generally dated about 1220. The earlier windows with the figures of the prophets should also be compared with similar windows at Châlons-sur-Marne and Bourges, which are usually ascribed to the 13th century (*cf.* J. Roussel, *Les Vitraux*, 2me album, Pls. 3-7). The windows in the Trinity Chapel may be fairly confidently dated about 1230; Becket's shrine, which is represented in the window, was erected in 1220.

Lincoln. The glass at Lincoln comes second in importance amongst the remains of early stained glass in England. It has been carefully described by Winston (*Memoirs*, chaps. iii and xi) and again by Dr. Nelson (*op. cit.*, pp. 138-143), with the valuable assistance of Dr. Montague R. James, F.S.A. There is 12th century glass in the south transept rose window (some scroll-work in white upon ruby, the leaves being painted upon yellow, blue, and green glass) and in the four lancet windows beneath the rose there is a series of medallions, some of which may date from the late 12th century. Certain of the 13th century borders are of a delicacy not matched in any other 13th century glass, and about the whole of the Lincoln glass of this period there is, as has been remarked in the text, a lighter and a gayer tonality than is usual The pervading blue of the backgrounds has a pleasing cornflower hue, and there is an unusual quantity of pinkish mulberry-coloured glass, as well as a fresh green and warm orange. The drawing is in general extremely vigorous and beautiful, and it is a matter of great regret to me that I have been unable to include any adequate illustrations from this source.

York. The 13th century glass is mostly of a fragmentary sort, with the exception of the famous "Five Sisters" window in the north-west transept, which dates from the middle of the century (*cf.* Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10). Perhaps more praise has been lavished on this window than on any other example of stained glass in England, and one cannot help suspecting that its romantic and legendary name has a good deal to do with this. Its real interest lies in the fact that it shows the *formal* use of foliage motives (admittedly of great beauty in detail and of pleasant colour in general effect), and in this way makes an admirable stylistic contrast with the *naturalistic* use of similar motives as seen, for example, in the windows of fifty years later in the Chapter House at York.

What there is of 13th century figure subjects at York is mainly to be found in the clerestory, but its condition is very fragmentary. The best account of it will be found in Benson, pp. 46-54.

The glass in the Chapter House, which comes at the turn of the century, we have already discussed in the text (p. 31). Benson again gives a full description, to which there is nothing to add, and to which nothing *can* be added whilst the glass remains in its present condition.

In the aisles there are a certain number of windows of the early 14th century, and of some of these the dates are ascertainable within fairly narrow limits. They have all been damaged and repaired and are somewhat confused in effect. The Bellfounder's window (second from the

east, north aisle), which dates from about 1330, is of considerable interest by reason of its curious subject matter; nothing, *pace* M. Mâle, could be of a more intensely local character than this window representing in such an individual manner the craft of Richard Tunnoc, a bellfounder of York, whose name is inscribed on the glass and of whose life and doings we have ample historical evidence.

The 13th century figure subjects at *Beverley Minster*, at *Salisbury Cathedral* (including fragments of a Jesse window), at *Waterperry* (Oxford), at *Chartham* and *Westwell* (Kent, the latter another Jesse window), *West Horsley* (Surrey), and at *Aldermaston* (Berkshire) are all of considerable interest. At Salisbury there are also examples of the best 13th century grisaille and geometrical quarry work.

Glass of the first half of the 14th century is more plentiful. The series of windows in Merton College Chapel, Oxford, dating from early in the century, is very representative of the definite poverty of design and colour which began to prevail at this time; there is a tedious repetition of cartoons and a general lack of vivacity. This tendency, however, is not observable at Wells, where the early 14th century glass, by far the most beautiful of its period in England, is distinguished by its rich range of colours and fine distinction of line (Pl. 10). To some extent this is also true of the related glass at Tewkesbury (Pl. 18), though here the drawing is coarser in quality. More representative, perhaps, of the first half of the 14th century is the beautiful figure of St. Catherine from *Deerhurst* (Pl. 12), and with this we may compare the figure of St. Leonard now in *Durham Cathedral*. The glass at *Eaton Bishop* (Pls. 2 and 11) has already been discussed in the text; comparable in importance, as exhibiting a distinctly local type, is the glass at *Arlingham* (Gloucestershire, Pl. 14). The glass at all the following places is worthy of study: *Chetwode* (Berks), *Beer Ferrers* (Devon), *Exeter Cathedral*, *Norbury* (Derbyshire, see Winston, *Hints*, p. 85, and Nelson, p. 72), *Hereford Cathedral* (good grisaille work, as well as several figure subjects), *Selling* and *Upper Hardres* (Kent), *Stanford* (Northants), *Christ Church. Oxford* (Fig. 4), *Mancetter* (Warwickshire), and *Selby Abbey*.

SECOND PERIOD

(1350 TO 1500)

THE REMAINS OF GLASS FOR this period are comparatively numerous and cannot be treated in a summary fashion; Dr. Nelson's list should be consulted. Here I will merely refer to certain problems too special in interest for treatment in the text.

Great Malvern. The glass in the Priory is amongst the most important in England, and only at York can the 15th century be studied to better advantage. It is to be the subject of an exhaustive monograph by Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, so will only be referred to here very summarily. The chapel south of the choir contains three windows of great beauty, representing the history of the creation of the world and other subjects from the book of Genesis (Pl. 24). On the north side of the clerestory of the choir there is an interesting window devoted to St. Werstan and the foundation of the Priory, and another with scenes from the life of the Virgin (Pl. 38). There is similar glass, not so well preserved, on the south side of the clerestory of the choir, and these windows, as well as the great east window, probably date from the building of this part of the Priory in the middle of the 15th century; some tiles on the choir screen and

flooring round the altar bear the dates 1453-1456. The west window originally contained a Doom, but is now filled with figures brought from the windows in the nave (Pl. 39). Here I would only refer to the undoubted influence of the work of John Thornton on the Malvern painters; indeed, it seems probable that the east window at Malvern may have been the work of John Thornton himself. Mr. Knowles has pointed out detailed resemblances in the design of the east window at Malvern and the St. William window at York, and Mr. Rushforth has developed the point in a paper read before the Archaeological Institute. It is perhaps sufficiently convincing to compare the panel from Malvern showing the Entry into Jerusalem (Pl. 33) with the York glass illustrated in Pls. 31 and 32.

Margaretting. The beautiful Jesse window here (Pl. 47) has been fully described by Westlake (vol. iii, pp. 67-71), but in view of the fact that only quite recently (*Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters*, vol. i, no. 3, October 1925, where the window is illustrated in colour) this work has been described as Flemish, it would be as well to reproduce Westlake's remarks on this subject. It must be remembered that Westlake himself restored the window and therefore knew it intimately.

"I think that it is Westminster work; in fact I shall, without hesitation, announce the discovery of a new link. It is probably by John Prudde, of Westminster, and executed about 1460! If I am taxed for my boldness now, whereas I have always hesitated when there is a doubt, I will give strong evidence for my assertion. Look at the figure *Achan* (Pl. XLVII); observe the action and character given to him, his hat (which is dark ruby) relieved against the white scroll; take note of the shape of this scroll, its lines, lettering, finial, ornamentation, twisted ends—very similar counterparts of all these will be found in my slight sketches of heads from the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick (Pls. XXVI and XXVII). The costumes, the fur edges, the character of the glass and painting, in fact all that make a design or decide the character of an artist's work, drawn in a certain style, correspond in both examples. The Warwick work is later by a few years evidently, and is more finished and developed. It is with some pleasure that I put together these links of the Westminster tradition, which, to my eyes, is distinct for a considerable period from that of Winchester."

In the eastern counties generally, as already remarked in the text, there would seem to have been a good deal of the work of the Westminster school. I think that the main body of the glass at *Long Melford* is probably of this origin; and possibly the glass at *Hessett* and *Blakeney*, *Levrington*, and *Martham*.

Fairford. The glass at this church is justly famous, not only for its intrinsic worth, but also because here, as almost nowhere else in England, the full equipment of a church's glass-paintings can be seen in all their unity and completeness. There are twenty-eight windows, which form a complete series illustrating the History of Redemption, beginning with the Fall and ending with the Doom. They fall into three groups, showing the events and personages of the Old and New Testaments arranged as types and antitypes. The nine windows of the east end of the church are occupied by the Life of Christ, with the Crucifixion (Pl. 57) filling the great east window. The second group (Pl. 56) illustrates the History of the Faith and consists of a large series of figures filling the whole

of the aisles and the clerestories on both sides of the church, arranged so that one side responds to the other. Thus the twelve Apostles appear opposite the twelve Prophets; the four Evangelists opposite the four Doctors; and the twelve Professors of the Faith opposite the twelve Persecutors of the Faith. The third group illustrates the Doom and fills the windows at the west end of the church, including the great west window (which has unfortunately suffered considerable damage and restoration). The history of the church and its glass has been fully treated in a work which is a model of local scholarship—*The Fairford Windows*, by the Rev. T. G. Joyce. I will here only refer to the problems presented by this glass, and then merely express my opinion that in a large degree these problems have ceased to exist; the views presented by Joyce and supported by Westlake are now generally accepted. The legend that the windows were designed in Flanders for a church at Rome, and that they were made prize of war at sea by John Tame, who then built a church at Fairford for their reception, is among the most bizarre of all the legends that accumulate round ancient works of art. It is significant that no record of it is found earlier than that of a certain MS. of Dr. Parsons, who was Chancellor of the Diocese of Gloucester from 1669 to 1711. The later legend, ascribing the windows to Dürer, is equally fantastic: it rests on a supposed signature, and, apart from any sense of likelihood, ignores the fact that the design of the subjects has nothing in common with Dürer's style. For a detailed discussion of the evidence for and against a foreign origin, the reader is referred to chapter five of Mr. Joyce's work. The following, however, is the summary of his conclusions:

" The evidence of the glass is therefore of the following kind. It displays many particulars in which a German or Flemish hand may be traced, but these particulars are in details. It exhibits English rather than German saints, and it indicates in the architecture of its canopies a pervading agreement with English perpendicular rather than with any foreign work. Lastly, in the case of two portions of the series of its pictures, they are distinctly marked by English royal cognizances; whilst in the third portion (the Gospel History) two of its subjects unquestionably show an English hand, in having as a principal accessory in their backgrounds, perpendicular windows of very late date.

" There is but one view that will reconcile all the points in this evidence which appears to be so conflicting; namely, that the glass was made in England under an English contract, but that both Germans and Flemings were employed in its execution."

Joyce then refers to the Warwick and King's College contracts and concludes that the glass at Fairford was similarly " the work of an English ' glasyer ' who had skilled Germans and Flemings in his employment." He did not venture actually to ascribe it to the Westminster school, or to Barnard Flower in particular, but subsequent authorities have not hesitated to do this. But Westlake did not agree with this ascription (vol. iii, pp. 43 and 62-64); he remarks on the close resemblance of the Fairford windows to the fragments of Bishop Fox's work remaining in the chapels of the choir of Winchester Cathedral, and concludes from this that the Fairford windows are probably the work of the Winchester-Oxford school (p. 63). The resemblances are certainly there: " shaftings support the front part of the

canopy, and the figures hold scrolls, and have draperies hung behind them, over which we see the groining and windows of the back part of the niche or chapel. Moreover, the ornamental detail of the round shaft, the form of the crockets, etc., the method of treating the phylactery or scrolls and the general style of colouring and painting are the same in both works. There is, however, in the Winchester work a certain advanced look, quite according with its later date."

If Westlake's distinction between Westminster and Winchester were to hold, it would be possible to discount a good number of these resemblances because they are architectural and common to the period. In general, comparisons of this sort should rest almost entirely on the nature of the painting and design and the range of the colours. In these respects Westlake's assertion is but vague. And Westlake himself was as a matter of fact somewhat confused on the question; or perhaps he changed his mind. For in the fourth volume of his work (p. 24) he writes of the windows at Winchester, which, in vol. iii, he has been associating with the Fairford windows.

"There is one interesting historical query concerning these windows; were they the early work of Barnard Flower? He was the 'king's glazier' about this time, and shortly after was employed by Bishop Fox at King's College, Cambridge."

But the case for or against Barnard Flower need not rest on this Winchester comparison. More definite, and in favour of the Westminster hypothesis, is a comparison of the angels from Westminster with those from Fairford (Pl. 56 and Fig. 22); one cannot fail to recognize a decided resemblance, almost amounting to identity, of style. There are also detailed resemblances of technique at Westminster and Fairford which are significant; note, for example, the similarity of technique and colours in the fruited trees where the red fruit is inserted by the "jewel" method both in the panel showing the "Temptation of Eve" at Fairford (Joyce, Pl. III) and in the holly-bush shields at Westminster. The use of a single feather from the Prince of Wales's badge, to fill the smaller tracery lights in some of the windows, both at Westminster and at Fairford, is also worth noting. Nor should the comparison with other undoubted work of the Westminster school be neglected, such as the windows at King's College, Cambridge—particularly those ascribed to Barnard Flower. The treatment of the Ascension at Fairford is very similar to that at Cambridge.

St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. The east window (Pl. 60) contains five lights of stained glass about which there has been much discussion. The three central lights are occupied by a representation of the Crucifixion; on the left is a kneeling monarch with his patron St. George and the Tudor rose, on the right a queen with her patroness St. Catherine and the pomegranate of Granada.

The purchase of this window for St. Margaret's Church, which occurred in the year 1758, was followed by an ecclesiastical prosecution of the churchwardens for having acted without a licence from their bishop. That this suit was ultimately settled in favour of the churchwardens was largely due to an anonymous treatise published at Oxford in 1761—*The Ornaments of Churches Considered, with a particular View to the late Decoration of the Parish Church of St. Margaret Westminster.* The author was William Hole, archdeacon of Barnstaple, but a preface and appendix were contributed by the curate of the

church, Dr. Thomas Wilson. In this appendix we first meet with the statement of the history of the window which afterwards became so current:

" The magistrates of Dort in Holland being desirous of presenting Henry VII with something worthy to adorn his magnificent Chapel then building at Westminster, directed this Window to be made, which was five years in finishing; King Henry and his Queen sending their Pictures to Dort, from whence their Portraits in the Window were delineated.

" King Henry dying before the Window was compleated, it fell into the hands of an Abbot of Waltham, who placed it in his Abbey Church, where it remained until the Dissolution of that Abbey by Henry VIII A.D. 1540. To preserve it from being destroyed, it was removed by Robert Fuller, the last Abbot of Waltham, to a private Chapel at New-Hall, an ancient Seat belonging to the Butler's Earls of Ormond, in Wiltshire; [*author's erratum*: ' for Wiltshire, r. Essex '] which afterwards came into the hands of Thomas Bullen, father of Anne Bullen, Henry VIII's Queen.

" In Queen Elizabeth's Reign, New-Hall is found to have been the Seat of Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex; from his Family, George Villars, Duke of Buckingham bought it; his son sold it to General Monk, who to preserve it, or to guard it against Imputations from his Party, caused it to be buried under Ground, during the Civil Wars and Usurpation; in which Times many beautiful Glass Windows, to the amount of above 800 were destroyed by the Rage of puritannical Zealots. After the Restoration General Monk caused this Window to be replaced in his Chapel of New-Hall. In 1688, died without Issue his Son and Heir Christopher Duke of Albemarle, by whose Death this noble Seat devolved to his Dutchess, but she not residing there, it became ruinous and decayed. The present Possessor of New-Hall is John Olmius, Esq.; who it is presumed, purchased it of the Heirs of the Monk's Family. Within these few Years he hath demolished great Part of the ancient Structure and the fine Chapel, but the Window he preserved, hoping that it might at length be purchased for some Church. It lay some time cased up in Boxes, till Mr. Conyers coming to the Knowledge of it, purchased it for his Chapel at Copthall, near Epping; and paid Mr. Price, a great Artist in that Way, a large Sum of Money for repairing it. There it remained till his Son John, building a new House, at some Distance from the old Seat, had no further Use for the Window, and sold it to the Committee appointed for the repairing and beautifying St. Margaret's A.D. 1758, for the Sum of 400 guineas, Part of the 4000 *l.* granted by Parliament for repairing and beautifying that Church."

Dr. Wilson goes on to give a description of the window, in which the saints are correctly identified as St. George and St. Catherine, while the royal figures are said to represent Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth of York. His account is largely followed by subsequent writers, but neither they nor he give any hint as to the sources of evidence connecting the window with the Dordrecht magistrates, with Henry VII, or with Waltham Abbey. My colleague, Mr. William King, to whom I am indebted for the bulk of this note, has taken the trouble to compare Dr. Wilson's account of the history of New Hall with what can be gathered from contemporary records, supplemented by information contained in Essex county histories and in the

Dictionary of National Biography. He finds that New Hall in the parish of Boreham, Essex, did indeed come into the hands of Thomas Boleyn, whose mother was an heiress of the Butler family, but that as early as 1515 Boleyn made it over by exchange to King Henry VIII and it became a royal palace. Henry enlarged it and used it intermittently, and a little later we find it the residence of Mary Tudor, afterwards Queen of England. In 1573 Queen Elizabeth granted it to Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex, in whose family it remained until 1622, when it was sold to George Villiers, Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham. It next went to his son, the second Duke, and during the Civil War shared the fate of that nobleman's other property, being sequestered in 1648 and confiscated in 1651. In that year it was bought by Oliver Cromwell, but was exchanged by him almost at once for Hampton Court, and is then said to have been sold to three wealthy merchants of London. At the Restoration in 1660 it once more became the property of the Duke of Buckingham, who seems to have immediately sold it to the State, and in the same year it was presented to General Monck, together with the Duchy of Albemarle. On the death of the second Duke in 1688 it passed to the latter's Duchess, who subsequently became Duchess of Montagu and lived until 1734. At some time previous to her death it was sold to Benjamin Hoare, a member of the London banking firm. Hoare sold it in 1737 to John Olmius, who, incidentally, was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Waltham in 1762.

A somewhat divergent account of the window is contained in Philip Morant's *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, vol. ii, p. 103. The publication of this work was completed in 1768, but the relevant passage bears signs of having been written in 1762. Morant makes no reference at all to Dordrecht or Waltham, but says simply:

"There was in the Chapel of New-Hall a Window of fine painted Glass, which Edward Conyers, Esq., purchased, with a design to put it up in his Chapel at Copped-hall: But when it was found better to new-build, than to repair, that seat, John Conyers, Esq., sold the glass to the Parishioners of St. Margaret's Westminster. . . ."

Morant's account is repeated almost word for word in Peter Muilman's anonymous *New and Complete History of Essex from a Late Survey* (6 vols., Chelmsford, 1769-72). An engraving of the window was made in 1768 by Basire and was published by the Society of Antiquaries (*Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii, Pl. XXVI), with a summary of Dr. Wilson's account of the window. A fresh legend is first found in a small pamphlet entitled *Historical Curiosities relating to St. Margaret's Church Westminster* and signed "J. R. March, 1834," which was privately printed in 1837. The author was John Rickman, and he omits all reference to the Dordrecht magistrates and describes the window as a wedding present from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain on the marriage of their daughter, Catherine of Aragon, to Prince Arthur of England. He states that it was intended for Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster and that the figures represent Arthur and Catherine, whose "portraits are said to have been sent to Dort for the use of the artists there."

Winston, in his *Hints*, quotes the Dordrecht story, but points out for the first time that the figures must be Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, and that the date of the glass must be as late as 1526. Finally, Westlake gives us a more

critical examination of these various histories and ascriptions. He accepts the identification of the figures as Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, but he is not inclined to accept very much of the traditional story. "One portion," he says, "appears true, namely, that it once occupied the eastern lights in New Hall, Essex, and it is possible that that was its original situation; the other part of its history . . . is questionable. . . ." He gives it a date rather earlier than Winston, namely, about 1510-1515.

It is difficult to see where all these speculations lead us, but as we see in the case of Fairford, there is no limit to the laxity of 18th century archaeologists. In the absence of all confirmatory evidence we must draw our own conclusions from what few facts there actually are, and from our general knowledge of the glass-painting of the period. We must dismiss the legends of Dordrecht magistrates and Spanish sovereigns, and concentrate on the probabilities. In view of the date of the glass, there seems every reason to accept Westlake's theory that the original destination of the window was the Chapel at New Hall, for we can see from Brewer's *Foreign and Domestic Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* that large sums were paid about this time for structural alterations to that seat. And from what we know of the work of the Westminster glass painters, at Fairford and King's College, Cambridge, there seems to be no good reason for not assigning it to that school. This is a conclusion which Professor Lethaby has also recently arrived at, and expressed in his new work on the Abbey.[1]

A further point to be noted, to which Mr. Knowles has drawn attention, is the evident fact that at some period, probably when William Price restored the window in the 18th century, the old glass was to a great extent "touched up"; that is to say, additions in the way of shading of the architectural details and tinting of the flesh were freely added (compare Pl. 61). The character of Price's original work in the window is shown in Pl. 67.

The Vyne in Hampshire, and the glass from the Chapel of the Holy Ghost now in *Basingstoke* parish church. The glass at these two places is closely related and belongs to the much disputed Renaissance type which has already been discussed in the text. Mr. G. McN. Rushforth has recently put forward his views on this glass in a paper read before the Archaeological Institute (4th November 1925). The Chapel is of ancient foundation, but the mansion to which it is attached was built in the early years of the 16th century, and the glazing of the Chapel was probably one of the last things done on this occasion. In the opinion of Mr. Rushforth, Henry VIII himself was probably the donor: Lord Sandys, by whom the house was built, was a particular favourite of his, and was made a peer in 1523, and became Lord Chamberlain in 1525. Some indication of the actual date of the glass is given by the youthful portraits of Henry and of his sister Margaret of Scotland (Pl. 62), and of Catherine of Aragon, who appear kneeling with their patron saints behind them in the lower halves of the three windows. The rather strange choice of Margaret may perhaps be explained by the prominence she received during her

[1] Professor Lethaby writes: "Of this window, indeed, there is a story that it was made at Dort in Holland and sent to Henry VII as a present for his chapel. The exact evidence, however, is against such a theory, and the window appears to have been made for the chapel of New Place, Essex, as rebuilt by Henry VIII, and to be the work of the successors of Barnard Flower" (*Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, p. 179).

visit to England during the years 1516-7. All things considered, a date in the second decade of the 16th century would seem probable. As for the origin of the glass, Mr. Rushforth pointed to certain strong analogies of style which the glass bears to windows in the church of St. Jacques, Liège;[1] and more general comparisons can be made with the glass in the Cathedral and the Church of St. Martin, Liège, and with the windows in the church of Ste. Gudule, Brussels. The glass was not necessarily imported, but, in Mr. Rushforth's opinion, there is a strong probability of the artist of the St. Jacques window having been responsible for the cartoons of the windows at the Vyne. Westlake (vol. iv, p. 54) thought that the portraits were not unlike, in execution, those of Stubbs in Balliol College. It is also interesting to compare the Vyne window with the east window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which is nearly identical in date.

The fragments at Basingstoke are in a poor condition, the enamel having largely perished, but at one time the windows of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost ranked with Fairford and King's College for their beauty and splendour. The Basingstoke glass is probably a little later in date than the glass at the Vyne. Westlake thought it was likely to be of English workmanship and "most especially interesting, as it carried on our tradition of design from Winchester to King's College, Cambridge." What is most likely, however, is that it is of the same origin as the glass at the Vyne, that is, of Flemish design, though probably of English execution.

Wales. The glass at Dyserth, Gresford (Fig. 21), Llandyrnog (Fig. 20), Llanrhaidhr (Fig. 24) shows definite characteristics which seem to denote a local type, but no record of a centre of glass-painting in this district has come to light.

The Betley Window. This window, which is reproduced as Pl. 64, is of considerable interest apart from the aesthetic and technical reasons mentioned in the text (p. 195). Betley Hall, where the window was originally placed, was at one time in the possession of the Tollet family, and we are given in the Rev. Edward Hinchliffe's *Barthomley* (London, 1856) an account of the family and of this window. George Tollet, a grandson of the purchaser of Betley Hall, was an antiquary of some repute, and in Johnson and Steevens' Shakespeare, in which he co-operated, he published an engraving of this window with a detailed description of it. Like the Rector of Barthomley, "I shall grudge neither time nor trouble to make you acquainted with these very clever strictures," which not only describe the window in detail, but reflect in a delightful essay the features of an England not yet deprived of art and joy. To understand Mr. Tollet's references, it should be noted that the figures are numbered on the engraving as follows:

12	11	10
7	8	9
6	5	4
1	2	3

The window is, in all probability, of the date of the house, 1621. Technical considerations make a much earlier date impossible and Mr. Tollet's "objections" must be explained away by the persistence of traditional costumes and habits.

MR. TOLLET'S OPINION CONCERNING THE MORRIS DANCERS UPON HIS WINDOW.

"The celebration of May-day, which is represented upon my window of painted

[1] See an article by R. Graul in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, ed. P. Clemen, Munich, 1923, vol. ii, pp. 41-62 and figs. 29 and 30.

glass, is a very ancient custom, that has been observed by noble and royal personages, as well as by the vulgar. It is mentioned in Chaucer's 'Court of Love,' that early on May-day, 'furth goth al the court, both most and lest, to fetch the flouris fresh, and braunch, and blome.' Historians record that in the beginning of his reign, Henry the Eighth, with his courtiers 'rose on May-day, very early, to fetch May or green boughs; and they went with their bows and arrows shooting to the wood.' Stowe's 'Survey of London' informs us, that 'every parish there, or two or three parishes joining together, has their Mayings; and did fetch in May-poles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, Morrice dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long.' Shakspere says, 'it was impossible to make the people sleep on May morning, and that they rose early to observe the rite of May.' [1]

"The court of King James the first, and the populace, long preserved the observance of the day, as Spelman's Glossary remarks under the word Maiuma. Better judges may decide, that the institution of this festivity originated from the Roman Floralia, or from the Celtic la Beltine, while I conceive it derived to us from our Gothic ancestors. Olaus Magnus de Gentibus Septentrionalibus, lib. xv, c. 8, says, 'that after their long winter, from the beginning of October to the end of April, the northern nations have a custom to welcome the returning splendour of the sun with dancing, and mutually to feast each other, rejoicing that a better season for fishing and hunting was approached.' In honour of May-day, the Goths and southern Swedes, had a mock battle between summer and winter, which ceremony is retained in the Isle of Man; where the Danes and Norwegians had been for a long time masters. It appears from Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. iii, p. 314, or in the year 1306, that, before that time, in country towns the young folks chose a summer king and queen for sport to dance about May-poles. There can be no doubt but their Majesties had proper attendants, or such as would best divert the spectators; and we may presume that some of the characters varied as fashions and customs altered. About half a century afterwards, a great addition seems to have been made to the diversion, by the introduction of the Morris, or Moorish, dance into it, which, as Mr. Peck, in his 'Memoirs of Milton,' with great probability conjectures, was first brought into England in the time of Edward III, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain, where he had been to assist Peter, king of Castile, against Henry the Bastard. 'This dance,' says Mr. Peck, 'was usually performed abroad by an equal number of young men, who danced in their shirts, with ribbands, and little bells about their legs. But here, in England, they have always an odd persons besides, being [2] a boy, dressed in a girl's habit, whom they called Maid Marian, an old favourite character in the sport.' 'Thus,' as he observes in the words of Shakspeare, 'they made more matter for a May-morning: having, as a pancake for Shrove Tuesday, a Morris for May-day.' [3]

"We are authorised by the poets, Ben Jonson and Drayton, to call some

[1] *Henry VIII*, Act v, scene 3; and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iv, scene 1.

[2] It is evident from several authors that Maid Marian's part was frequently performed by a young woman, and often by one, as I think, of unsullied reputation. Our Marian's deportment is decent and graceful.

[3] *Twelfth Night*, Act iii, scene 4; *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act ii, scene 2.

of the representations, on my window, Morris Dancers, though I am uncertain whether it exhibits one Moorish personage, as none of them have black or tawny faces, nor do they brandish swords, or staves in their hands,[1] nor are they in their shirts, adorned with ribbons. We find in Olaus Magnus, that the northern nations danced with brass bells about their knees, and such we have upon several of these figures, who may, perhaps, be the original English performers in a May-game before the introduction of the real Morris dance. However this may be, the window exhibits a favourite diversion of our ancestors in all its principal parts. I shall endeavour to explain some of the characters, and in compliment to the lady, I will begin the description with the front rank, in which she is stationed. I am fortunate enough to have Mr. Steevens think with me, that figure 1 may be designed for the Bavian fool, or the fool with the slabbering bib, as Bavon, in Cotgraves' 'French Dictionary,' means a bib for a slabbering child; and this figure has such a bib, and a childish simplicity in his countenance.[2] Mr. Steevens refers to a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's play of 'The two Noble Kinsmen,' by which it appears, that the Bavian in the Morris dance was a tumbler, and mimicked the barking of a dog.

"I apprehend that several of the Morris dancers, on my window, tumbled occasionally, and exerted the chief feat of their activity, when they were aside the May-pole; and, I apprehend, that jigs, hornpipes, and the hay were their chief dances. It will certainly be tedious to describe the colours of the dresses, but the task is attempted upon an intimation, that it might not be altogether unacceptable.

"The Bavian's cap is red faced with yellow, his bib yellow, his doublet blue, his hose red, and his shoes black.

"Figure 2 is the celebrated Maid Marian, who, as Queen of May, has a golden crown on her head, and in her left hand a flower, as the emblem of summer. The flower seems designed for a red pink, but the pointals are omitted by the engraver, who copied from a drawing with the like mistake. Olaus Magnus mentions the artificial raising of flowers for the celebration of May-day; and the supposition of the like practice[3] here, will account for the Queen of May having in her hand any particular flower before the season of its natural production in this climate. Her vesture was once fashionable in the highest degree. It was anciently the custom for maiden ladies to wear their hair[4] dishevelled at their coronations, their nuptials, and, perhaps, on all splendid solemnities. Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII, was married to James, king of Scotland, with the crown upon her head; her hair hanging down. Betwixt the crown and the hair was a very rich coif, hanging down behind, the whole length

[1] In the Morisco the dancers held swords in their hands with the points upward, says Dr. Johnson's note in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act iii, scene 9. The Goths did the same in their military dance, says Olaus Magnus, lib. xv, c. 23. Haydocke's translation of *Lomazzo on Painting*, 1598, book ii, p. 54, says "there are other actions of dancing used, as of those who are represented, with weapons in their hands, going round in a ring, capering skilfully, shaking their weapons after the manner of the Morris, with divers actions of meeting," etc. "Others having Morris bells upon their ankles."

[2] In several of the Northern languages *bavian* signified a monkey or baboon.

[3] Markham's translation of *Heresbatch's Husbandry*, 1631, observes, "that gilliflowers, set in pots and carried into vaults or cellars, have flowered all the winter long, through the warmness of the place."

[4] Leland's *Collectanea*, 1770, vol. iv, pp. 219, 293; vol. v, p. 332; and Holinshed, vol. iii, pp. 801, 931; and see Capilli, in Spelman's Glossary.

of the body. This single example sufficiently explains the dress of Marian's head. Her coif is purple, her surcoat blue, her cuffs white, the skirts of her robe yellow, the sleeves of a carnation colour, and her stomacher red with yellow lace in cross bars. In Shakspeare's play of Henry VIII, Anne Bullen, at her coronation, is in her hair, or, as Holinshed says, 'her hair hanged down,' but on her head she had a coif, with a circlet about it full of rich stones.

"Figure 3 is a friar in the full clerical tonsure, with the chaplet of white and red beads in his right hand; and, expressive of his professed humility, his eyes are cast upon the ground. His corded girdle, and his russet habit, denote him to be of the Franciscan order, or one of the grey friars, as they were commonly called from the colour of their apparel, which was a russet, or a brown russet, as Holinshed, 1586, vol. iii, p. 789, observes. The mixture of colours in his habit may be resembled to a grey cloud, faintly tinged with red by the beams of the rising sun, and streaked with black. And such, perhaps, was Shakspeare's aurora, or 'the morn in russet mantle clad,' Hamlet, Act i, scene i. The friar's stockings are red, his girdle is ornamented with a golden twist, and with a golden tassel.[1] At his girdle hangs a wallet for the reception of provision, the only revenue of the mendicant orders of religious, who were named Walleteers, or Budget-bearers. It was customary[2] in former times, for the priest and people, in procession, to go to some adjoining wood on May-day morning, and return in a sort of triumph with a May-pole, boughs, flowers, garlands, and such-like tokens of the spring; and as the grey friars were held in very great esteem, perhaps, on this occasion, their attendance was frequently requested. Most of Shakspeare's friars are Franciscans. Mr. Steevens ingeniously suggests that, as Marian was the name of Robin Hood's beloved mistress, and she was the Queen of May, the Morris friar was designed for Friar Tuck, chaplain to Robin Hood, king of May, as Robin Hood is styled in Sir David Dalrymple's extracts from the book of the 'Universal Kirk,' in the year 1576.

"Figure 4 has been taken to be Marian's Gentleman-usher. Mr. Steevens considers him as Marian's paramour, who, in delicacy, appears uncovered before her; and, as it was a custom for betrothed persons to wear some mark for a token of their mutual engagement, he thinks that the cross-shaped flower on the head of this figure, and the flower in Marian's hand, denote their espousals, or contract. Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, April, specifies the flowers worn of paramours to be the pink, the purple columbine, gilliflowers, carnations and sops in wine. I suppose the flower in Marian's hand to be a pink, and this to be a stock-gilliflower; or, the Hesperis, dame's violet, or queen's gilliflower; but perhaps it may be designed for an ornamental ribbon. An eminent botanist apprehends the flower upon the man's head to be an epimedium. Many particulars of this figure resemble Absolon, the parish clerk in Chaucer's Miller's Tale, such as his curled and golden hair, his kirtle of watchet, his red hose, and

[1] Splendid girdles appear to have been a great article of monastic finery. Wykeham, in his *Visitatio Notabilis*, prohibits the Canons of Selborne any longer wearing silken girdles ornamented with gold or silver.

[2] See *Maii Inductio*, in Cowel's Law Dictionary. When the parish priests were inhibited by the Diocesan to assist in the May-games, the Franciscans might give attendance, as being exempted from episcopal jurisdiction.

Paul's windows corvin on his shoes, that is, his shoes pinked and cut into holes like the windows of St. Paul's ancient church. My window plainly exhibits upon his right thigh a yellow scrip or pouch, in which he might, as treasurer to the company, put the collected pence, which he might receive, though the cordelier must, by the rules of his order, carry no money about him. If this figure should not be allowed to be a parish clerk, I incline to call him Hocus Pocus, or some juggler attendant upon the master of the hobby-horse, as 'faire des tours de [jouer de la] gibecière,' in Boyer's French Dictionary, signifies to play tricks by virtue of Hocus Pocus. His red stomacher has a yellow lace, and his shoes are yellow. Ben Jonson mentions 'Hokos Pokos in a juggler's jerkin,' which Skinner derives from kirtlekin; that is, a short kirtle; and such seems to be the coat of this figure.

"Figure 5 is the famous hobby-horse, who was often forgotten, or disused in the Morris dance, even after Maid Marian, the friar, and the fool were continued in it, as is intimated by Ben Jonson's[1] masque of the 'Metamorphosed Gipsies' and in his 'Entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Althorpe.' Our hobby is a spirited horse of pasteboard, on which the master dances,[2] and displays tricks of legerdemain; such as the threading of the needle, the mimicking of the whigh-hie, and the daggers in the nose, &c. as Ben Jonson, edition 1756, vol. i, p. 171, acquaints us, and thereby explains the swords in the man's cheeks. What is stuck in the horse's mouth I apprehend to be a ladle, ornamented with a ribbon. Its use was to receive the spectators' pecuniary donations. The crimson footcloth, fretted with gold, the golden bit, the purple bridle with a golden tassel, and studded with gold; the man's purple mantle with a golden border, which is latticed with purple, his golden crown, purple cap with a red feather, and with a golden knop, induce me to think him to be the king of May, though he now appears as a juggler and a buffoon. We are to recollect the simplicity of ancient times, which knew not polite literature, and delighted in jesters, tumblers, jugglers, and pantomimes. The Emperor Lewis the Debonair not only sent for such actors upon great festivals, but, out of complaisance to the people, was obliged to assist at their plays, though he was averse to publick shews.

"Queen Elizabeth was entertained at Kenilworth with Italian tumblers, Morris dancers, &c. The colour of the hobby-horse is a reddish white, like the beautiful blossom of the peach-tree. The man's coat or doublet is the only one upon the window that has buttons upon it, and the right side of it is yellow, and

[1] Vol. vi, p. 93, of Whalley's edition, 1756:

"*Clo.* They should be Morris dancers by their gingle, but they have no napkins.
Coc. No, nor a hobby-horse.
Clo. Oh, he's 'often' forgotten, that's no rule; but there is no Maid Marian, nor friar amongst them, which is the surer mark."

Vol. v, p. 211:

"But see, the hobby-horse is forgot.
Fool, it must be your lot,
To supply his want with faces,
And some other buffoon graces."

[2] Dr. Plott's *History of Staffordshire*, p. 434, mentions a dance by a hobby-horse and six others.

the left red. Such a parti-coloured[1] jacket, and hose in the like manner, were occasionally fashionable from Chaucer's days to Ben Jonson's, who, in Epigram 73, speaks of 'a partie-per-pale picture, one-half drawn in solemn Cyprus, the other in Cobweb-Lawn.'

"Figure 6 seems to be a clown, peasant, or yeoman, by his brown visage, notted hair, and robust limbs.[2] In Beaumont and Fletcher's play of 'The Two Noble Kinsmen' a clown is placed next to the Bavian fool in the Morris dance; and this figure is next to him on the file or in the downward line. His bonnet is red, faced with yellow, his jacket red, his sleeves yellow, striped across or rayed with red, the upper part of his hose is like the sleeves, and the lower part is a coarse deep purple, his shoes red.

"Figure 7, by the superior neatness of his dress, may be a franklin or a gentleman of fortune. His hair is curled, his bonnet purple, his doublet red with gathered sleeves, and his yellow stomacher is laced with red. His hose red, striped across or rayed with a whitish brown, and spotted brown. His codpiece is yellow, and so are his shoes.

"Figure 8, the May-pole, is painted yellow and black in spiral lines. Spelman's 'Glossary' mentions the custom of erecting a tall May-pole, painted with various colours. Shakspeare, in the play of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' Act iii, scene 2, speaks of a painted May-pole. Upon our pole are displayed St. George's red cross, or the banner of England, and a white pennon or streamer emblazoned with a red cross, terminating like the blade of a sword, but the delineation thereof is much faded. It is plain, however, from an inspection of the window, that the upright line of the cross, which is disunited in the engraving, should be continuous.[3] Keysler, in p. 78 of his Northern and Celtic Antiquities, gives us perhaps the original of May-poles; and that the French used to erect them, appears also from Mezeray's 'History of their King Henry IV,' and from a passage in Stowe's 'Chronicle' in the year 1560. Mr. Theobald and Dr. Warburton acquaint us, that the May games, and particularly some of the characters in them, became exceptionable to the puritanical humour of former times. By an ordinance of the Rump Parliament,[4] in April, 1644, all May-poles were taken down and removed by the constables and churchwardens, &c. After the restoration they were permitted to be erected again. I apprehend they are now generally unregarded and unfrequented: but we still, on May-day, adorn our doors in the country with flowers and the boughs of birch, which tree was especially honoured on the same festival by our Gothic ancestors.

"To prove figure 9 to be Tom the

[1] Holinshed, 1586, vol. iii, pp. 326, 805, 812, 844, 963; Whalley's edition of Ben Jonson, vol. vi, p. 248; Stowe's *Survey of London*, 1720, book v, pp. 164, 166; Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 198.

[2] So, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, the yeoman is thus described: "A nott hede had he, with a brown visage." Again, in the *Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612: "Your not-headed country gentleman."

[3] St. James was the apostle and patron of Spain, and the knights of his order were the most honourable there, and the ensign that they wore was white, charged with a red cross in the form of a sword. The pennon, or streamer, upon the maypole, seems to contain such a cross. If this conjecture be admitted, we have the banner of England and the ensign of Spain upon the maypole; and, perhaps, from this circumstance we may infer that the glass was painted during the marriage of King Henry VIII and Katharine of Spain. For an account of the Ensign of the Knights of St. James see Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter* and Mariana's *History of Spain*.

[4] This should have been called the Long Parliament. The Rump Parliament was in Oliver's time.

Piper, Mr. Steevens has very happily quoted these lines from Drayton's third eclogue:

> Myself above Tom Piper to advance,
> Who so bestirs him in the Morris dance
> For penny wage.

His tabour, tabour-stick and pipe, attest his profession; the feather in his cap, his sword, and silver-tinctured shield, may denote him to be a squire minstrel, or a minstrel of the superior order. Chaucer, 1721, p. 181, says: 'Minstrels used a red hat.' Tom Piper's bonnet is red, faced or turned up with yellow, his doublet blue, the sleeves blue, turned up with yellow, something like red muffetees at his wrists, over his doublet is a red garment, like a short cloak, with arm holes, and with a yellow cape, his hose red, and garnished across, and perpendicularly on the thighs, with a narrow yellow lace. This ornamental trimming seems to be called gimp-thigh'd, in Grey's edition of 'Butler's Hudibras,' and something almost similar occurs in 'Love's Labour Lost,' Act iv, scene 2, where the poet mentions, 'Rhimes are guards on wanton Cupid's hose.' His shoes are brown.

"Figures 10 and 11 have been thought to be Flemings or Spaniards, and the latter a Morisco. The bonnet of figure 10 is red, turned up with blue, his jacket red, with red sleeves down the arms, his stomacher white, with a red lace, his hose yellow, striped across or rayed with blue, and spotted blue, the under part of his hose blue, his shoes are pinked, and they are of a light colour; I am at a loss to name the pennant-like slips waving from his shoulders, but I will venture to call them side-sleeves, or long-sleeves, slit into two or three parts. The poet, Hocclive, or Occleve, about the reign of Richard II, or of Henry IV, mentions side-sleeves of penny-less grooms, which swept the ground; and do not the two following quotations infer the use or fashion of two pairs of sleeves upon one gown or doublet? It is asked in the appendix to Bulwer's 'Artificial Changeling' 'What use is there of any other than arming sleeves, which answer the proportion of the arm?' In 'Much Ado about Nothing,' Act iii, scene 4, a lady's gown is described with down-sleeves, and side-sleeves, that is, as I conceive it, with sleeves down the arms and with another pair of sleeves, slit open before from the shoulder to the bottom or almost to the bottom, and, by this means, unsustained by the arms, and hanging down by her sides to the ground, or as low as her gown. If such sleeves were slit downwards into four parts, they would be quartered; and Holinshed says: 'that at a royal mummery, Henry VIII and fifteen others appeared in Almain jackets, with long quartered sleeves'; and I consider the bipartite, or tripartite sleeves of figures 10 and 11 as only a small variation of that fashion. Mr. Steevens thinks the winged sleeves of figures 10 and 11 are alluded to in Beaumont and Fletcher in the 'Pilgrim':

> That fairy rogue that haunted me,
> He has sleeves like dragon's wings.

And he thinks, that from these, perhaps, the fluttering streamers of the present Morris dancers in Sussex may be derived. Markham's 'Art of Angling,' 1635, orders the angler's apparel to be 'without hanging sleeves waving loose like sails.'

"Figure 11 has upon his head a silver coronet, a purple cap with a red feather, and with a golden knop. In my opinion, he personates a nobleman, for I incline to think that various ranks of life were meant to be represented upon my window. He has a post of honour, or

'a station in the valued'[1] file, which here seems to be the middle row, and which, according to my conjecture, comprehends the queen, the king, the May-pole, and the nobleman. The golden crown upon the head of the master of the hobby-horse denotes pre-eminence of rank over figure 11, not only by the greater value of the metal[2] but by the superior number of points raised upon it. The shoes are blackish, the hose red, striped across, or rayed with brown, or with a darker red, his cod-piece yellow, his doublet yellow, with yellow side-sleeves, and red arming sleeves, or down sleeves. The form of his doublet is remarkable. There is great variety in the dresses and attitudes of the Morris dancers on the window, but an ocular observation will give a more accurate idea of this and of other particulars, than a verbal description.

" Figure 12 is the counterfeit fool, that was kept in the royal palace, and in all great houses, to make sport for the family. He appears with all the badges of his office: the bauble in his hand, and a coxcomb hood with ass's ears on his head. The top of the hood rises into the form of a cock's neck and head, with a bell at the latter; and Minshew's 'Dictionary, 1627,' under the word 'coxcomb' observes that 'natural idiots and fools have [accustomed] and still do accustome themselves to weare in their cappes cocke's feathers, or a hat with a necke and a head of a cocke on the top, and a bell thereon,' &c. His hood is blue, guarded or edged with yellow at its scalloped bottom, his doublet is red, striped across or rayed with deeper red, and edged with yellow, his girdle yellow, his left side hose yellow, with a red shoe, and his right side hose blue, soled with red leather. Stowe's Chronicle, 1614, p. 899, mentions a pair of cloth stockings, soled with white leather, called 'cashambles' that is, 'Chausses semellés de cuir,' as Mr. Anstis, on the Knighthood of the Bath, observes. The fool's bauble, and the carved head with ass's ears upon it, are all yellow. There is in Olaus Magnus, 1555, p. 524, a delineation of a fool, or jester, with several bells upon his habit, with a bauble in his hand, and he has on his head a hood with ass's ears, a feather, and the resemblance of the comb of a cock. Such jesters seem to have been, formerly, much caressed by the northern nations, especially in the court of Denmark; and perhaps our ancient 'joculator regis' might mean such a person. A gentleman of the highest class in historical literature apprehends, that the representation upon my window is that of a Morris dance procession about a May-pole; and he inclines to think, yet, with many doubts of its propriety in a modern painting, that the personages in it rank in the boustrophedon form. By this arrangement, says he, the piece seems to form a regular whole, and the train is begun and ended by a fool in the following manner: figure 12 is the well-known fool; figure 11 is a Morisco, and figure 10 a Spaniard, persons peculiarly pertinent to the Morris dance; and he remarks, that the Spaniard obviously forms a sort of middle term betwixt the Moorish and the English characters, having the great fantastical sleeve of the one, and the laced stomacher of the other. Figure 9 is Tom the Piper. Figure 8 the May-pole. Then follow the English characters, representing, as he

[1] The right-hand file is the first in dignity and account, or in degree of value, according to Count Mansfield's *Directions of War*, 1624.

[2] The ancient kings of France wore gilded helmets; the dukes and counts wore silvered ones. See Selden's *Titles of honour for the raised points of Coronets.*

apprehends, the five great ranks of civil life. Figure 7 is the franklin, or private gentleman. Figure 6 is a plain churl or villane. He takes figure 5 the man within the hobby-horse, to be, perhaps, a Moorish king, and, from many circumstances of superior grandeur, plainly pointed out as the greatest personage of the piece, the monarch of the May, and the intended consort of our English Maid Marian. Figure 4 is a nobleman. Figure 3 the friar, the representative of all the clergy. Figure 2 is Maid Marian, queen of May. Figure 1 the lesser fool, closes the rear.

"My description commences where this concludes, or I have reversed this gentleman's arrangement, by which, in either way, the train begins and ends with a fool; but I will not assert that such a disposition was designedly observed by the painter.

"With regard to the antiquity of the painted glass there is no memorial or traditional account transmitted to us; nor is there any date in the room but this 1621, which is over a door, and which indicates, in my opinion, the year of building the house. The book of 'Sports, or lawful Recreations upon Sunday after Evening Prayers, and upon Holy-days,' published by King James, in 1618, allowed May-games, Morris dances, and the setting up of May-poles; and, as Ben Jonson's 'Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies,' intimates that Maid Marian, and the friar, together with the often forgotten hobby-horse, were sometimes continued in the Morris dance as late as the year 1621. I once thought that the glass might be stained about that time; but my present objections to this are the following ones: It seems from the prologue to the play of King Henry VIII that Shakspeare's fools should be dressed 'in a long motley coat guarded with yellow'; but the fool upon my window is not so habited, and he has upon his head a hood, which I apprehend might be the coverture of the fool's head before the days of Shakspeare, when it was a cap with a comb like a cock's, as both Dr. Warburton and Dr. Johnson assert, and they seem justified in doing so from King Lear's fool giving Kent his cap, and calling it his coxcomb. I am uncertain whether any judgment can be formed from the manner of spelling the inscrolled inscription upon the May-pole, upon which is displayed the old banner of England, and not the union flag of Great Britain, or St. George's red cross and St. Andrew's white cross joined together, which was ordered by King James in 1606, as Stowe's Chronicle certifies. Only one of the doublets has buttons, which I conceive were common in Queen Elizabeth's reign; nor have any of the figures ruffs, which fashion commenced in the latter days of Henry VIII, and from their want of beards also I am inclined to suppose they were delineated before the year 1535, when 'King Henry VIII commanded all about his court to poll their heads, and caused his own to be polled, and his beard to be notted, and no more shaven.' Probably the glass was painted in his youthful days, when he delighted in May-games, unless it may be judged to be of much higher antiquity by almost two centuries.

"Such are my conjectures upon a subject of so much obscurity; but it is high time to resign it to one more conversant with the history of our ancient dresses."

TOLLET.

Hinchliffe adds the following notes:

An engraving of this celebrated ancient window, printed in colours, is given as a title to the first volume of Charles Knight's extremely interesting work entitled *Old England: a Pictorial Museum*

of Regal, Ecclesiastical, Baronial, Municipal, and Popular Antiquities. Folio, 1845.

An engraving of it is also given with an elaborate "Dissertation upon the Morris Dance and Maid Marian," appended to a beautiful edition of *The Lytell Geste of Robin Hood*, etc., edited by J. M. Gutch, 2 vols., 1847.

In *Hone's Year Book* (p. 834) will likewise be found an account of the "Morrice Dancer and Maid Marian," with a reference to Mr. Tollet's window, and his account of it.

A full investigation of this curious subject may be found in *Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.*

APPENDIX B

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A COMPLETE BIBLIOGRAPHY of English stained glass is not within the scope of this book; it would, indeed, amount to a book in itself and a publication of the Department of Glass Technology, University of Sheffield, which is announced, will probably meet all ordinary needs. The present bibliography aims to give the reader (1) a list of the books and articles on stained glass mentioned in the text; (2) all the general books which the average reader is likely to want to consult; and (3) a selection of the more important articles from the enormous number which have appeared during the last fifty or sixty years in archaeological journals and similar publications. Such a selection must in the nature of things be rather arbitrary; but it includes such articles as I myself have found particularly useful or informing and a few others which bear on particular questions discussed in the text.

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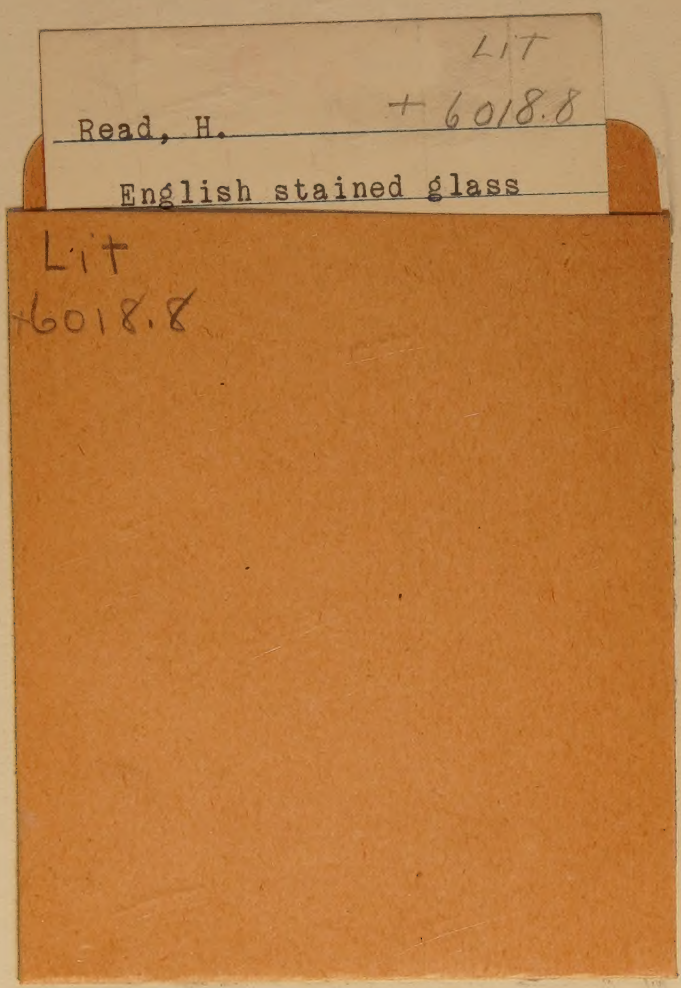
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